SURNAMES

ERNEST WEEKLEY

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BY ERNEST WEEKLEY, M.A.

"Indeed, there is a woundy luck in names, sirs,
And a main mystery, an a man knew where
To vind it."

(BEN JONSON, *Tale of a Tub*, iv. 2.)

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
1916

which have not been mentioned by earlier writers, and hardly any of which have been hitherto explained. Its relation to the *Romance of Names* is that of a more or less erudite treatise to a primer, matter which in the former book was dismissed in a paragraph or two being here expanded into a chapter. This involves a certain amount of repetition which I hope may be forgiven.

As the theories and etymologies proposed are to a great extent novel, I have thought it well to give some of the data on which they are based. Consequently the book will be found duller than its predecessor, and will, I fear, have little attraction for any but the surname enthusiast. The author's own inclination, successfully fought against, was to give for each name a mass of evidence, variants and early examples, which most readers would rather be spared. The method actually followed has been the rather unsatisfactory compromise of giving evidence and foreign parallels in a certain number of cases, and the author cannot hope that this has been done with much system or consistency. After the alternative plans had been considered of relegating the medieval examples to footnotes or to an appendix, it was finally decided to insert them in square brackets after the modern names to which they refer, an arrangement which will perhaps irritate the rapid reader without satiating the student. The chief sources of these early examples are

cases, every English name printed in italic type and included in the index is, or was as late as the nineteenth century, actually existent in this country.

enumerated on pp. xvi-xvii, but many other documents have been consulted and are indicated with more or less fullness when quoted.[1] To my colleague Mr. E. L. Guilford, Lecturer in History at University College, Nottingham, I am indebted for many medieval names drawn chiefly from unpublished Midland records. It will be noticed that a native or foreign parallel has often been preferred to direct evidence. This arises out of the comparative method which I have adopted, the only method which can lead to results of any value.

The index contains some six thousand existing surnames, including a certain proportion of French and German names and a sprinkling from other countries. In the body of the book appear probably almost an equal number of names which are presumably extinct, though, as a matter of fact, it is never safe to assume this even in the case of the most fantastic name. No student of the subject would be seriously startled at finding Longshanks and Strongbow dwelling side by side in

[1] To date exactly each example would have involved an amount of labour and verification incommensurate with the result. The source quoted usually shows the century. The great majority of the examples come from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and names later than 1338 are as a rule dated. The names are given just as they occur, except that baptismal names, when their form is not in question, are normalized, while *j* and *v* are put for *i* and *u* where these latter are consonants. I have also occasionally, for the sake of clearness, added to final *-é* the acute accent which was unknown to the Middle Ages. The county is also sometimes given when the habitat of the name is in question, but readers in search of an ancestor should notice that in many cases the county is simply that in which the bearer of the name happened to be hanged.

some remote village, though he would experience something of the exultation of a naturalist encountering a dodo in Kensington Gardens.

The author's excuse for publishing this second instalment of his harmless researches is that the end of his *Dictionary*, like that of all similar undertakings, has a way of receding as it is approached. It seemed possible that information representing the leisure amusement of several years might be doomed to the waste-paper basket by harassed executors, in which case some students of the English language might be the losers.[1]

The "practical man," when his attention is accidentally directed to the starry sky, appraises that terrific spectacle with a non-committal grunt; but he would receive with a positive snort any suggestion that the history of European civilization is contained in the names of his friends and acquaintances. Still, even the practical man, if he were miraculously gifted with the power of interpreting surnames, could hardly negotiate the length of Oxford Street on a motor-bus without occasionally marvelling and frequently chuckling. As a review of my former book puts it—

"We go about our dignified proceedings, solemnly addressing each other by the names of beasts and birds and kitchen implements; we are dressed like savages in fantastic feathers, and the most important list of honoured personages contains a set of nicknames graceless enough to keep us laughing for a month" (*The Times*, February 22, 1914).

[1] See p. 22.

I should like to thank by name all the friendly correspondents who have, often at real cost of time and labour, sent me information on the subject of surnames; but the list would fill several pages. So I must limit myself to saying in the words of Captain Grose that—"Several gentlemen (and ladies), too respectable to be named on so trifling an occasion, have also contributed their assistance."

ERNEST WEEKLEY.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, NOTTINGHAM,
April, 1916.

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1199–1216. Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Præstitis, regnante Johanne	*Lib. R.*
1199–1326. Charter Rolls . . .	*Chart. R.*
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ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

AF.	Anglo-French
AS.	Anglo-Saxon
Ass.	Assize
Bottin	Paris Directory, 1907
Cal. Gen.	Calendarium Genealogicum (1216-1307)
Cart.	Cartulary *or* Chartulary
Cath. Angl.	Catholicon Anglicum
Chanc. R.	Chancery Rolls (1277–1326)
Chart. R.	Charter Rolls (1199 . . .)
Chauc.	Chaucer
City A., B., etc.	City of London Letter-books (1275 . . .)
Close R.	Close Rolls (1205 . . .)
Cotg.	Cotgrave's *French Dictionary* (1611)
DB.	Domesday Book (1086)
dial.	dialect
dim.	diminutive
DNB.	Dictionary of National Biography
Doc. Ill.	Documents Illustrative of English History (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries)
Du.	Dutch
EDD.	English Dialect Dictionary
Exch. Cal.	Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer.
Exch. R.	Rotulorum Originalium in Curia Scaccarii Abbreviatio (Henry III. —Edward III.)
f.	filius *or* filia

Feet of Fines	Fines, sive Pedes Finium (1195–1214)
Feud. Aids	Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids (1284 . . .)
Fine R.	Fine Rolls (1199 . . .)
F. of Y.	Register of the Freemen of York (1272 . . .)
Fr.	French
Ger.	German
Goth.	Gothic
Hall.	Halliwell.
Hund. R.	Hundred Rolls (1273)
Inq.	Inquests
IpM.	Inquisitiones post Mortem (1216 . . .)
Let.	Letters
LG.	Low German
Lib. R.	Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Præstitis (1199 . . .)
Lib. Vit.	Liber Vitæ Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis
Manip. Voc.	Manipulus Vocabulorum
MDB.	Modern Domesday Book (1873)
ME.	Middle English
OF.	Old French
OG.	Old German
ON.	Old Norse
Palsg.	Palsgrave, *Lesclarcissement de la Langue françoyse* (1536)
Pat. R.	Patent Rolls (1202 . . .)
Piers Plowm.	Piers Plowman
Pipe R.	Pipe Rolls (1158 . . .)
Pleas	Abbreviatio Placitorum, Richard I. —Edward II.
Prompt. Parv.	Promptorium Parvulorum
Reg.	Register
Sc.	Scottish
Testa de Nev.	Testa de Neville
Voc.	Wright-Wülcker, Vocabularies
Wyc.	Wycliffite Translation of the Bible

SURNAMES

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF SURNAMES

"Nomen quum dicimus, cognomen quoque et agnomen intelligatur oportet" (CICERO).

THE study of surnames in England is chiefly associated with the names of Camden, Lower, Ferguson, and Bardsley, though many other writers have dealt with the subject, or with special aspects of it, both in books and magazine articles. Of these Camden, the first in date (*Remains concerning Britain*, 1605), is still in many ways the best. His brief essay, weak as it necessarily is from the philological point of view, gives by far the clearest and most sensible introduction to the subject that has yet been penned.

The first attempt at anything like a comprehensive *Dictionary of Surnames* is Lower's *Patronymica Britannica* (Lond. 1860), which contains some 12,000 names. He had previously published *English Surnames* (Lond. 1842, 4th ed., enlarged, 1875). Lower seems to have been a genial antiquary, with a good deal of miscellaneous information, but no serious knowledge of European languages. On the surnames of his

native county, Sussex, he has often good first-hand information, but outside that he is quite untrustworthy. He knew, however, something about the general history of surnames and had read all that had already been written in English on the subject. Some of his suggested etymologies are rather funny, and in many cases he does not seem to have taken the trouble even to open the Gazetteer. A couple of examples will suffice—

"*Bickerstaff.* The O. Eng. *bicker* means to skirmish or contend, and a 'bicker-staff,' therefore, probably signifies a weapon analogous to a quarter-staff, or single-stick. The name belongs to the same class as Longsword, Broadspear, etc."

"*Rigmaiden.* Two gentry families, settled respectively in Counties Lincoln and Lancaster, bore this remarkable name, which at the commencement of the present century was still extant. I can give no better etymology for the name than I have already assigned in *Eng. Surn.*; viz., 'a romping girl.'"

Now Bickerstaff, formerly Bickerstath (whence *Bickersteth*), is a Lancashire parish near Ormskirk, Rigmaden is a seat in Westmorland, and the local surnames de Bikerstaf and de Riggemaiden can be easily attested from the medieval records of the north. I have noticed fifteen variants of Bickerstaff in the *Lancashire Assize Rolls* (1176–1285) and Rigmaiden is also found in several forms. Similarly, Lower explains *Fifehead* as from a promontory in Scotland, whereas Fifehead, formerly Five-hide, is a place in Dorset, in which county *Fifehead, Fifett* is a common surname. But there is a good deal of useful antiquarian, as distinguished from etymological, information to be gleaned from Lower, and his rather ponderous good-humour does not excite the irritation which is evoked by the confident imbecility of some of his successors.

Lower was followed by Ferguson, author of *English Surnames and their Place in the Teutonic Family, The Teutonic Name System,* and *Surnames as a Science.* He was by trade a cotton-spinner, by inclination an amateur philologist, and eventually a Member of Parliament. Like most people who dabble in the study of German, he was struck by its similarity to English, and jumped to the conclusion that our surname system, like our language, was chiefly of Teutonic origin.[1] In other words, he became the victim of a fixed idea, a more deadly enemy in philological matters than ignorance itself. The consequence is that his *Surnames as a Science*[2] bears some resemblance to an elaborate lark, which begins by amusing, but soon palls. It is, of course, true that thousands of our surnames can be traced to personal names which were in use in Anglo-Saxon times, but, to establish such connection, it is just as well to supply a little in the way of evidence. For Ferguson it is quite sufficient to find a somewhat similar Anglo-Saxon name in Kemble[3] or Thorpe,[4] or, failing these sources, an Old German name in Förstemann,[5] or, failing Förstemann, in his own imagination, to explain Tom, Dick, and Harry as coming straight from the Twilight of the Gods into the London Commercial Directory. So *Thompson,* whom the ignorant might connect with Thomas, is really the son of *doom*! That a surname is obviously taken from a trade does

[1] Which it is, of course, though not as Ferguson understood it.

[2] Second edition, revised, London, 1884.

[3] *Codex diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici,* London, 1845–8.

[4] *Diplomatorium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici,* London, 1815.

[5] *Altdeutsches Namenbuch :* part 1, *Personennamen,* Nordhausen, 1856.

not disturb him. *Archer, Iremonger,* and *Prentice,* which are recorded by hundreds as "le archere," "le iremonger," "le prentice," are "Old Frankish" names, "and the resemblance to anything English is only an accident." *Archer,* we learn, is from OG. Erchear, *Iremonger* is related to Arminius the Cheruskerfürst, and *Prentice* comes from "an" AS. Premtsa. An unrecorded Old German name is just as useful for his purpose as one copiously attested. It is only a case of "not yet turned up," a phrase that recurs constantly in his book. Occasionally the intrusive place-name annoys him, but only for a moment. *Prendergast* is derived from an imaginary Pendgast, "an ancient compound, from the stem *bend,* with *gast,* hospes." A footnote admits that it may perhaps, however, be from a Welsh place-name (as of course it is), but it "illustrates the principle just the same."

A contemporary, and to some extent a disciple, of Ferguson, Dr. Charnock, published in 1868 a small lexicon of unusual surnames under the title *Ludus Patronymicus, or the Etymology of Curious Names.* On *Shakespeare* he gives us the following remarks—

"I have elsewhere (see *Notes and Queries,* vols. ix. and x.), stated that *Shakespeare* might be a corruption of Sigisbert, which would translate 'renowned for victory' (*sige,* victory); in answer to which Mr. Ferguson seemed to think that the name might be from Sicisper, Sigisper, or Sigiper, which he would translate 'victorious bear' (perhaps rather 'victorious man'). My suggestion would seem probable from the fact that the name *Shakeshaft* might be from Sigishaft, Sighaft, used by the Franks for 'victorious,' or from Sigishaved, 'head of victory,' 'victorious leader.' I am, however, disposed to think that the latter name is merely a corruption of Shakestaff; and, as I have shown elsewhere, most names compounded of *staff* are derived from AS. *sted,* a place. On further consideration I am inclined to doubt my former derivation

of the name *Shakespeare*, although it would easily corrupt from Sigisbert, by contraction of the first vocable, and by dropping of the final *t*. I agree with another correspondent of *Notes and Queries* in tracing the name to Jacques Pierre. . . . The nearest names to Jacques Pierre that I have been able to find are James Peters, Jacques Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, and Petrus Jacobus."

Perhaps, after all, it is only the gentleman's fun.

Theories every whit as crazy are constantly put forward by amateur philologists. A few years ago I read in *Notes and Queries* that *Jennins* is of Norse origin and means the " iron man," and that this family gave its name to Jenningham, now corrupted into Birmingham ! This statement easily beats the famous definition of the crab both in quality and on points. More recently, in the same publication, the suggestion was made that the puzzling name *Shillito* or *Silito* was from the medieval " de Sigillo." Even if this were phonetically possible, the theorist should have supported his case with modern names corrupted from Molendinarius, Albo Monasterio, Veteri Ponte, or Sexdecim Vallibus.

In fact, the study of English surnames, being a region of knowledge which has never been scientifically explored, is a regular happy hunting-ground for the unauthorized amateur. Even men of learning, who should know how dangerous it is to stray from their own sphere of knowledge, occasionally trespass disastrously. I have recently read a most interesting and informative article on the " Place of the Woodpecker in Religion," the author of which points out quite rightly that many of our surnames go back to instincts surviving from this prehistoric cult. But when he proceeds to tell us that the name *Peckover*

is the OF. *pic vert*, green woodpecker, we are reminded of those guileless etymologists who derive the Oxfordshire Shotover from *château vert*, while the suggestion that Woodhatch (Surrey) takes its name from the *woodhack*, or woodpecker, makes us wonder whether there is some similar explanation for Colney Hatch.

The documentary study of surnames began with Bardsley, who shifted the field of investigation from the migration of the Aryans to the Middle Ages. He realized that practically all our surnames came definitely into existence between the Norman Conquest and the end of the fourteenth century. His *English Surnames*[1] contains a wealth of material drawn from various medieval sources, and his *Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, published (Oxford, 1901) from his notes after his death, contains a valuable, though often wrongly grouped and wrongly interpreted, collection of authentic instances. Among all who have written on the subject, he appears to be the only one who knows that there are such things as chronology and evidence, and, where he goes wrong, it is simply from ignorance of medieval languages. I have given a few examples in the preface to my *Romance of Names*. Similar blunders are to be found on almost every page of his *Dictionary*, but it would be ungracious to insist on them. Personally I have derived the greatest help from his work, and, though I have never, when possible, used one of his instances without verifying it, I have often been guided to the origin of a name by his copious provision of early examples. His *Dictionary* is especially valuable for

[1] Seventh edition, London, 1901.

the later history of names, because of the careful study of church registers by which he is often able to show the identity of surnames which have become widely divergent. This part of the subject can only be nibbled at by one individual, and a real *Dictionary of Surnames* cannot come into existence until every county has been thoroughly documented by competent investigators.

The study of surnames is, for historical reasons, more complicated in England than in any other European country. In all European nations there is a strong foreign element, especially in frontier regions, but our Directory is perhaps the greatest hodge-podge of all. Taking the various elements in chronological order, we have first the "Celtic fringe," names from which (Gaelic, Welsh, Irish, Manx, Cornish) are now to be found in every corner of England. In fact, it is quite possible that the real old Welsh names (*Cradock, Ennion, Traherne,* etc.), now replaced largely by the unimaginative *Jones,*[1] *Hughes,* etc., are more numerous in England than in their native country. Then come the race whom we call traditionally the Anglo-Saxons, and from whom those few of us whose ancestors neither came over with the Conqueror nor escaped miraculously from the Massacre of St. Bartholomew are mostly descended. In the East and North, in Scotland, and sporadically

[1] The *MDB.* contains the names of 196 landholders in the Isle of Anglesey whose name begins with *J,* and every single one of them is *Jones.* The same phenomenon is observed in other countries in which the adoption of fixed surnames is comparatively recent. Thus in Sweden about one-half of the population is accounted for by some fifteen patronymics of the type *Olsen* (Olaf), *Jakobsen, Petersen,* etc.

all round the outer edge of the islands, names of Norse[1] origin are abundant; and these, from the strictly philological point of view, should be divided into East Scandinavian and West Scandinavian. With 1066 we have the Norman irruption, and, through the centuries, a constant percolation from various French provinces,[2] culminating in the great Huguenot invasion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the East coast Dutch and Danish names are not uncommon; while London, as the commercial focus of the world, has for centuries attracted immigrants from various European countries, many of whom have been fruitful and have multiplied. In quite recent times there has been a steady peaceful penetration from Germany, and London and our manufacturing towns are largely colonized by this energetic race, no doubt destined to be the ruling class of the future.[3]

But, difficult as is the task of classifying and deriving English surnames, it is nothing compared with that offered by American surnames. In the States the wear and tear of names, which in England extends over ten centuries, has been concentrated into one, and instead of half a dozen elements we have sources innumerable. In the early days of the Republic the problem was simpler, for the sparse population was drawn from practically four sources, British, Dutch, French, and German. In the earliest census taken, it

[1] I have described all names found before the Conquest as Anglo-Saxon, but many of them are really Norse. Those interested should study Björkman.

[2] French names are particularly common in Devon, a result no doubt of intercourse with the Channel Islands.

[3] This was written before the War.

is interesting to notice the distribution of these names.[1] We find, as we should expect, the French in the south, the Dutch in and around New York, and the Germans in Pennsylvania. But, since the time of the first census (1790), immigrants have crowded in from most countries, civilized and uncivilized, and their changed, distorted, or adapted names form a pathless etymological morass. Even in 1790 one is struck by the prevalence of crude and grotesque nicknames, often obvious perversions of foreign names, but frequently, no doubt, deliberately assumed by, or conferred on, men who had cut even the surnominal tie with Europe.

In one respect only are our English surnames easier to trace than those of continental countries. The possible variants and derivatives of any given personal name run theoretically into thousands, and in France and Germany, to take the two most important countries of which the surname system is related to our own, there has been no check on this process of differentiation. By contraction, aphesis, apocope, dialect variation, and many other phonetic factors, one favourite name often develops hundreds of forms, many of which appear to have nothing in common with the original. Thus Ger. *Nölte* can be traced step by step to OG. Arinwald, eagle mighty. The Old German names passed into France, underwent a new phonetic development, and were again varied *ad infinitum*. Thus *Naudot* is also from OG. Arinwald, which became Fr. *Arnaud*, whence, by aphesis, *Naud*, and, with the dim. suffix, *Naudot*. This dim. suffix again, which

[1] *A Century of Population Growth in the United States* (1790–1900), Washington, 1909. A copy of this elaborate and valuable work was most kindly sent to me by G. F. Parker, Esq., of New York, formerly U.S. Consul in Birmingham.

many other names share with *Naudot*, became, by a second aphesis, *Dot*, and then, with a new dim. suffix, *Dottin*. Many such series could be quoted among modern French surnames, e.g. *Hanotaux*, for *Hanotot*, from *Hanot*, from *Han*, from *Jehan*, i.e. John; or *Denis, Denisard, Nisard, Sard, Sardou*.

Now, in England, the parallel process was suddenly interrupted by the Norman Conquest. The Anglo-Saxon names which persisted remained in a state of arrested development and seldom formed familiar derivatives. Those which seem to form exceptions do so because the corresponding name existed in Old French and thus preserved a vitality which the Anglo-Saxon form had lost. Thus, *Rawle, Rawlins, Rawkins*, etc., belong to Fr. Raoul, from OG. Radwulf, counsel wolf, and our *Tibbs, Tibbets, Tibbles*, etc., derive from the Fr. Thibaut, OG. Theodobald, people strong, rather than from the cognate AS. Theodbeald, a rather rare name. From the Conquest the favourite names were French names of Germanic origin, e.g. William, Robert, Richard, or Biblical names, e.g. John, Thomas, Peter, of Greco-Latin or Eastern origin, and generally introduced in a French form. Nomenclature thus made a fresh start, and this start falls within historic and well-documented times. Practically all our surname groups of baptismal origin date from after the Conquest and have no direct or conscious connection with their Anglo-Saxon or Celtic cognates. Taking at hazard, from vol. ii. of the *Hundred Rolls*, a list of people from various counties described as sons of Adam, we find that the font-names represented are Clement, Eustace, Geoffrey, Gregory, Henry, Hugh, Humphrey, John, Nicholas, Peter, Philip, Ralph,

Richard, Robert, Roger, Simon, Thomas, William, not one of which was in real English use before the Battle of Hastings.

But a close study of the cartularies of ancient manors and abbeys reveals the survival of thousands of Anglo-Saxon names among the peasantry, and most of them still exist. They do not, however, form groups of derivatives. Even when Anglo-Saxon names survived as such, they were often affected in sound by the Norman pronunciation, for it must be remembered that, during the period of formation of our surnames, French was the official language and a considerable proportion of the population was bilingual. For instance, *Alphege* is the Norman form of *Elphick*, AS. Ælfheah, and the *v* of *Elvin* (Ælfwine), *Colvin* (Ceolwine), is due to the same influence. Wace makes Edward into *Ewart*, a name which has other origins, and Leofwin into *Lewin*—

"*Lewine* e Guert furent od lui" (*Roman de Rou*, 7857).

The font-name is, strictly speaking, the only true name, the other classes of surnames, patronymic, occupative, or nickname, being descriptions, while the local surname is an address. Of all surnames those of local origin are of least interest, difficult though it often is to recognize the village or homestead in its archaic, distorted, or popular form (see chap. iv.). Probably at least half of our surnames are of the dull, unimaginative local kind,[1] but their etymological

[1] It is rather curious that a few names of this type should have acquired an aristocratic flavour. *Cholmondeley* is simply the "lea" of Ceolmund, who is now usually *Coleman*, and *Ponsonby* is the "by," or homestead, of *Punshon*. The exclusive *Carlton* represents the most commonplace of our village names, Ceorl's, or the churl's, "tun," or homestead.

explanation belongs to the student of place-names. As there is hardly a spot in England which has not given its name to a family, it follows that a complete etymological dictionary of English surnames would have to include a complete etymological dictionary of place-names, i.e. that one impossibility can only be achieved by the preliminary accomplishment of another. The study of these names would have to be carried on by counties or regions. If a circle, with say a ten-mile radius, were drawn on an ordnance map round a city such as Nottingham, it would be found that all the village-names in that circle existed in the town or county as medieval surnames. With the enlargement of the circle, these names would thin out in number and become more corrupted in form, until, except for their accidental appearance here and there in modern England, they would fade away like the last ripple produced by a stone in the water. A profound historical knowledge of the earlier forms and of the local pronunciation would of course be essential for the study of these names.

In investigating the origins of names we can work either backwards or forwards. The field is immense and the materials are available in overwhelming mass. Lower seems to have used as general sources only *Domesday Book* and the *Hundred Rolls*, the latter a kind of later *Domesday Book* compiled in 1273. These are perhaps the two most valuable documents we have, because they give not only the name but the locality in which it occurs. But there are many other sources of hardly less value. For pre-Conquest names we have Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, a complete list of names extracted from all manner of

sources, including the earlier compilations of Birch, Thorpe, Kemble, etc. After *Domesday Book* (1086) the most important sources are, for the twelfth century, the *Pipe Rolls*, beginning in 1158, and, for the thirteenth century, the four great series of the *Charter Rolls* and *Fine Rolls*, from 1199, the *Patent Rolls*, from 1202, and the *Close Rolls*, from 1205. The earlier parts of these were printed *in extenso* early in the nineteenth century, and they are now continued in the form of Calendars, i.e. abstracts. Then we have the *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, from 1216, a number of minor rolls and documents dealing with special regions, and the numerous local records published by various antiquarian societies, such as the Camden, Chetham, Surtees, and Lancashire and Cheshire Record Societies. These latter sources are especially rich for the north of England, but most counties have now their antiquarian societies, from the *Transactions* of which any amount of information can be acquired. An ordinary lifetime would not suffice for the investigation of a fraction of the superabundant material, and the contribution of any individual to the subject must necessarily be but a drop in the ocean.

The Rolls are nearly always written in medieval Latin, but the names which occur in them are put promiscuously in latinized form, e.g. Johannes Arcubalistarius, English, John the Arblaster, or Anglo-French, Jehan le Arbalestier. There is nothing like uniformity of spelling. Even a monosyllable like *Bruce* has dozens of forms, and in one north-country document I have noted fifteen spellings of so simple a name as *Bradshaw*. This applies, of course, equally to the spelling of other words, but while this has now

been normalized by a kind of collective effort and the authority of the printer, the differentiation in the spelling [1] of names has gone on unchecked.

From about the middle of the fourteenth century the records become of less etymological value, because the significant prefixes, *le* and *de, del, atte*, etc., tend to disappear. But even in the earliest Rolls caution is necessary. Many accidents and misunderstandings may have occurred between the verbal communication made by the medieval peasant to the government official, who often had difficulty in understanding him, and the printed copy or abstract which we now possess. It is never safe to draw inferences from isolated entries, which may be original mistakes, errors in transcription, misreadings of medieval contractions, or modern misprints. *Le* is constantly confused with *de*, especially in the *Hundred Rolls*, and in the earlier issues of the other series, and *de* is also often found prefixed to obvious nicknames and personal names which can be certified from much earlier records.[2] The entries are to a great extent artificial. The common patronymics in *-s* and *-son* rarely occur, and the font-names are given in full instead of in the abridged form actually in use. We find Egidius f. Waltarii for Giles Watson, and Reginaldus, Dionysius, Petronilla, and Theophania for people who were certainly known to their neighbours as *Reynold, Dennis, Parnell*, and *Tiffen*.

[1] It is considered a terrible solecism to write of the poet *Spencer* or of "rare Ben *Johnson*," but in Westminster Abbey these two spellings may be seen over adjacent tombs.

[2] Some of our county histories are not blameless in this matter, and sprinkle *de's* in ludicrous fashion among the ancestors of the local gentry.

It may be noted here that the nomenclature of the Middle Ages is much more ornate than the superficial study of history would suggest. Female names especially have much of the penny novelette about them. I have come across Amanda, Bonajoia, Dulcibella, Glorietta, Licoricia, Orgoylosa, Orielda, and many others. These gorgeous names seem to have been especially common among the Jews, e.g. the four Jewesses mentioned in vol. xxxiii. of the *Pipe Rolls* are Belleases, Duzelina, Pulcella, and Regina. In a great many cases it is impossible to say whether a modern name is a patronymic or a metronymic, for most of the male medieval font-names had feminine form also, e.g. Almarica, Alwina, Clementia, Eustachia, Huelina, Theobalda, etc., and, as in modern times, we sometimes find a female font-name manufactured from that of the father or ancestor, e.g. Lescelina, daughter of Matthew f. Leising (*Lanc. Inq.*, 1205–1307), the latter gentleman's "by," or farmstead, having been the home of the *Lazenby* family.

Occupative names given in Latin or French form have sometimes persisted (*Faber, Bullinger*), but we may be sure that Ricardus Molinarius or Richard le Mouner was generally in private life Dick Miller. There are few commoner entries than Cocus and le Keu, both now represented by *Cook*.[1] The same is true of nicknames. Many a modern *Whitehead* descends from a Blanchef or Blaunkfrunt of the Rolls, and the *Caprons* of to-day are far less numerous than those of the Middle Ages, most of whom were simply *Hoods*. The form which any name takes in the Rolls is due

[1] *Kew* still exists, but is not common, and often comes from Kew in Surrey.

largely to the personality of the recorder, often doing his best with a population whose dialect was to him a meaningless jargon. Ralph Omnibon (*Fine R.*) looks like the official interpretation of *Allgood*, AS. Ælfgod, and *le Petit Chose* has a thirteenth-century prototype in Stephen Aliquid whom we find in Cambridgeshire in 1273 (*Hund. R.*), apparently an uncouth fenman whose name the official compiler gave up as a bad job.

The accidental character of modern names is illustrated by the fact that the same man is often found with more than one description. With Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus we may compare the humbler Adam Kokke in le Grene Pulter (*F. of Y.*), whose descendants may, along with other possibilities, now be *Adams*, *Cox*, *Green*, or *Poulter*, and Ricardus le Nouthird de Stanley Porter (*ib.*), who may now be represented by *Richards*, *Nothard*, *Stanley*, and *Porter*. So with Ralph Thomasman Fairfax (*Pat. R.*), Edmund Johanserjaunt Emmesone (*ib.*), Walter le Hore de Elmham called Starling (*City D.*), William Jonessometer Burdelays (*Pat. R.*), Nicholas Rogersserjaunt le Norreys (*Coram Rege R.* 1297), Everard Williamsman Attemersche (*ib.*), Richard Williamsserjaunt Pykerell (*ib.*), William Rogereswarener of Beauchamp of Sonday (*Pat. R.*). John le Cappeler, called "le prest" (*City B.*), appears in the same volume as John Prest, cappeler (hatter). This brings us to the fact, which may comfort some people, that trade-names were very often nicknames, e.g. Stephen le Espicer, called le Hornere (*City E.*), William Priour, *cossun*, i.e. horsedealer (*ib.*), John le Naper, King's huntsman (*Chart. R.* 1259), Elias Webster dictus Harpur (*F. of Y.*), Walter

le Taillour, vicar of Crediton (*Chanc. R.*). It is pretty obvious that a man could not be *Prentice* by trade, nor could the *Mawer* or *Plowman* make much of a living by "mowing" or "ploughing" alone. Many names of this latter type date back to the manorial system, under which tenants had to put in a certain amount of time in mowing, ploughing, hedging, etc., for their masters.

Just as a well-established medieval name must have modern representatives, a well-established modern name must occur under some form in medieval records. By a well-established modern name, I do not mean one which is chiefly attested by the contemporary London Directory, or even in our great manufacturing centres, for these may be of Huguenot or later foreign origin, but one that has a regional existence dating back for a few centuries. This brings us to the question of modern sources. For a general dissertation on surnames the London Directory [1] is sufficient. For the historical investigation of the subject it is useless. The method must be regional, and a great historical *Dictionary of Surnames* can only be compiled when the names of every county have been scientifically studied. This task is now being gradually carried out for place-names, and perhaps surnames will one day have their turn. Just as the main features in the political history of a country could be inferred from

[1] I generally use the edition of 1842, which, appearing before the conquest, is comparatively free from such misleading forms as *Arbiter*, Ger. Arbeiter, *Freedman*, Friedemann, *Bloomingfield*, Blumenfeld, *Brilleslipper*, Brillenschleifer, lens grinder. The modern Directory is full of such names, sometimes half translated, e.g. *Althouse*, *Diamondstein*, or fully, e.g. *Bathmaker*, *Brilliantstone*, or wrongly, e.g. *Coopersmith*, Kupferschmied, copper-smith.

a study of its language alone, so the history of each county and region, political, ethnical,[1] and industrial, is imbedded in its surnames.

For even now our population is largely stationary in abode. The Welsh milkman comes to London, drives his cart for twenty years, and then builds himself a snug villa on the coast of Cardigan Bay. If he remains in London, his dynasty generally dies out within a few generations. Moreover, in most families some members, at any rate, remain on the native soil, and there are now probably many people inhabiting the very spot where their ancestors dwelt when *Domesday Book* was compiled. It is sometimes thought that all names get to London sooner or later. They may do so, but they do not remain, and I do not believe that half of our surnames of long standing are represented in the London Directory.

The name *Fillery* is a good example of stationary character. The only *Fillery*[2] I ever heard of used to bowl for Sussex some thirty or forty years ago. From the *Percy Cartulary* I find that Henry Filleray or

[1] Here is a concrete example. Guppy, *Homes of Family Names* (p. 53), says, "The isolated colony of the Norfolk *Howells* and *Powells* invites some further explanation." I have also been struck by the frequent occurrence of Welsh names in medieval Norfolk. In an early volume of the *Patent Rolls* I find that Humfrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, complains that while he was absent in Wales on the King's service, assaults were committed on the servants of his household *at Norwich*. Were there among these servants some Welshmen from the Marches who settled down and married Norfolk wives? Some such solution is no doubt the true one. In Canada at the present day there are plenty of Macdonalds, Macgregors, etc., who speak French only, being descendants of disbanded Highland soldiers who took to themselves French-Canadian wives in the eighteenth century.

[2] I have since found the name in a casualty list of the Sussex Regiment.

Fyleray, also called Fiz le Rey, i.e. king's son, was a Sussex landholder in the thirteenth century. The casualty lists now being issued tell the same tale. In to-day's (Feb. 11, 1915) paper occurs *Wyartt*, the name of a private in the Suffolks, and, opening Bardsley, I find his first example is Lena Wyard, (*Hund. R.*, Suff.). My own name, which is very uncommon, is derived from a village in Northants. It has occurred in the casualty lists as that of a private in the Northamptons. *Peverall* is found among the Sherwood Foresters, largely recruited from the Peak country. The famous name *Paston* naturally occurs in the Norfolk Regiment. Hundreds of similar cases could be quoted. It is among the rank and file also that we find the great Norman names (*Marmion, Maltravers*, etc.), which have almost disappeared from the peerage.

The best single source for modern names is undoubtedly the *Return of Owners of Land*, officially compiled in 1873 and generally called the *Modern Domesday Book* (*MDB.*). From the two volumes devoted to England and Wales we find that, contrary to the opinion of the stump orator, the land of the country is held by nearly a million people, the immense majority of whom are small holders of the peasant class. As the return is by counties, it is easy to trace the names regionally in all their forms and corruptions, and to establish the locality in which any given surname first came into existence. Very often we may find the more correct form still borne by the squire and all manner of perversions represented by the cottagers who are his distant cousins. An odd-looking name can often be solved by a comparison with its neighbours. When we find *Bathos* by the side of *Bathurst*

we recognize a natural corruption. The last five names in *J-* in Essex are *Judd, Judson, Justums, Jutson, Jutsum.* Here Jud, i.e. Jordan, has given the patronymic *Judson,* altered to *Jutson* as *Hudson* has become *Hutson.* Then our love of final *-m* (cf. *Bransom, Hansom, Sansom*) has produced *Jutsum,* from which, with a common metathesis (cf. *Cripps* for *Crisp*), we get the new patronymic *Justums.* When we find *Phizacklea* in Lancashire, we hardly need the intermediate *Phizakarley,* or the imitative *Fitzackerley,* to guide us to the original *Fazakerley,* the name of an ancient parish now absorbed in Liverpool. In the East Riding we find *Mainprice* in the same locality as the perverted *Mamprize,* and even *Mempriss, Mimpress, Mainpidge.* If a name occurs in isolation, and no rapprochement with characteristic names of the county is possible, we have to do with an immigrant whose kin must be sought elsewhere. In this way we can to some extent cover the same ground which would be explored in the impossible undertaking of examining the parish registers of the whole country.

As a matter of fact, many of the surnames which seem to defy interpretation are found copiously represented in special districts. A few hours devoted to turning over the leaves of the *MDB.,* or even a glance at Guppy, reveals the existence of numbers of unfamiliar names which surprise by their forbidding uncouthness. The explanation is that they represent the name of some medieval homestead, swallowed up centuries ago by the growth of towns, or even some field-name; or they may spring from some dialect word which had died out before dialects became a matter of interest. Some of them might be solved

by local antiquaries, but they defy the philologist. Such are *Benjafield*, which swarms in Dorset, *Bosomworth*, common in Yorkshire, *Cudlipp*,[1] found all over Devon, *Enticknap*, common in Surrey and Sussex, and the great Cumberland name *Routledge*.

Altogether local distribution must be taken into account in proposing an etymology. Bardsley derives *Godsall, Godsell* from Godshill (Isle of Wight) ; but it is almost entirely a Gloucestershire and Herefordshire name [Geoffrey de Godeshale, *Fine R.*, Glouc.]. In Norfolk and Suffolk we find *Garwood* existing strongly side by side with *Garrood, Garrod, Garrett*. This suggests that *Garwood*, sometimes local (garth wood), is in these counties also the representative of AS. Gærweard, with a change such as we find in *Grimwood* from Grimweard. The northern *Yarwood* is the same name. In the same region we find the similar parallelism of *Legwood, Legood, Leggott*, all probably from AS. Leodgeard, of which *Leggett* is the regular diminutive. *Gaunt* has two well-attested origins, the gaunt [Gilbert le Gant, *Fine R.*], and of Ghent [Richard de Gaunt, *City F.*]. But the home of the name is Lincolnshire, which is also, as a fen country, one of the great centres of bird nicknames. In that county the crested grebe is called the *gannet*, or *gant*, and hence we may conclude that most of the Lincolnshire *Gaunts* take their name from the bird—

" These birds frequent . . . the great east fen in Lincolnshire, where they are called *gaunts* " (Pennant).

The fairly common name *Bray* has two quite clear local origins, viz. from one of the many places in France

[1] This may be identical with *Cutcliff*, common in the same county, but neither is this a specific place-name.

called Bray, and from Bray in County Wicklow [Robert de Bree, provost de Develine,[1] *Doc. Ill.*]. No doubt Bray in Berks must also be considered. But the great home of the *Brays* is Cornwall, and Benedict le Bray (*Close R.*, Cornwall) shows it to be a nickname from a Cornish adjective meaning "fine, brave."

Finally, in dealing with nicknames, it must be remembered that, extraordinary and numerous as medieval nicknames are, many of them have gone unrecorded. As we have seen (p. 16), many individuals, in fact perhaps the majority, had four names, of the type John Wilson at Town's End Saddler. But most John Wilsons had a fifth name, such as *Whitehead, Shorthose, Nightingale*, or *Dolittle*, and this fifth name stood the poorest chance, as a rule, of getting into official records. Therefore, although no solution of a name can be accepted as final without documentary evidence, it is at least probable that no common adjective or noun that could conceivably be used as a nickname is altogether absent from our surname list.

The study of surnames may be regarded as a harmless pastime or as a branch of learning. As a pastime it is as innocent as stamp-collecting, and possibly as intellectual. As a branch of learning it is an inexhaustible, and hitherto practically unworked, mine of philological knowledge. A complete dictionary of English surnames would not only form a valuable supplement to the *NED.*, but would in a great measure revolutionize its chronology. This may seem of little practical importance at a time when our leaders of science, a word which used to mean knowledge, are exhorting us in unattractive English to do away with

[1] Dublin, hence the common Irish *Devlin*.

" ce vieux fatras de grec et de latin " and bend all our efforts on transforming the rising generation into a nation of super-plumbers.[1] But among the little band of *attardés* who rally round the tattered flag of intellectual pursuits, there will always be some to whom the study of our glorious language will have an irresistible appeal.

Now language consists of words, and the oldest articulate words are names. It is more or less an accident that some of these, having become proper names, are excluded from the dictionaries. Others still discharge a double function and are equally the prey of the lexicographer and the name-hunter. Dictionaries draw, as a rule, on literary sources, i.e. on language which has already reached a somewhat artificial phase of evolution, but in the names and nicknames of the Middle Ages we hear the every-day speech of our ancestors, a disconnected speech perhaps, and without that thread of continuity which enables us to trace the dictionary word back through the centuries, but all the same a speech which is generally far older than literary records. Among words which occur as surnames in this volume there are few of which the examples do not ante-date by some centuries the earliest records in the *NED.* This applies especially to obsolete or dialect topographical words[2] (ch. iii.), and to trade-names[3] (ch. v.).

[1] These gentlemen are apparently unaware that the uncanny efficiency of the Germans is not due to the neglect of " useless " studies. Even in such a by-way of knowledge as the study of surnames, almost the only work that can be taken seriously has been done by Germans or German-trained philologists.

[2] See, for instance, *Borstall* (p. 54), *Fostall* (p. 60).

[3] The *NED.* has *cheesemonger* (c. 1510), *quilter* (1563), *charwoman* (1596). The first two are surnames in the *Pipe R.* for 1186, and Alice Charwoman lived in Nottingham in the fourteenth century.

But there is hardly a noun or an epithet which can be used as a nickname, apart from the everyday Anglo-Saxon vocabulary, which is not found in the Rolls long before its first appearance in literature. The nocturnal mammal called a "bat" is usually *bakke* in Middle English, and this is one origin of the name *Back* [Henry le Bak, *Coram Rege R.* 1297]—

"Moldewarpis and *backes*, var. *rere-myis*" (Wyc. *Is.* ii. 20).

The *NED.* dates the form *bat* from *c.* 1575. But it is a common thirteenth-century nickname [Geoffrey le Bat, *Fine R.*, Reginald le Bat, *Hund. R.*], and of course one origin of *Batt.*[1]

The study of surnames also reveals the existence of a large Anglo-French vocabulary which is otherwise almost unrecorded. These words must have been colloquially current during the period when the two elements were in process of fusion. In the long run they were rejected in favour of the native equivalents and dropped out of the language, except in so far as they had become fossilized as surnames. Examples of such words will be found *passim* in this volume, but they are chiefly illustrated by nicknames taken from adjectives or derived from names of birds and beasts. These two great classes of surnames, which would require a volume to themselves, are not included in the present work. One, unfortunately obsolete, nickname of this type may, however, be mentioned here. Our familiar "pussy-cat," a word that

[1] Also from Bartholomew and from the AS. *Beorht-* names. Probably also an archaic spelling of "boat" [Stephen del Bat, *Close R.*]; cf. *Barge*, *Galley*, etc. (p. 171). *Bateman* is no doubt sometimes for "boatman."

we should expect to find in popular use long before it was put down in black and white, is a modernized "puss-cat"—

"*Micia*, a *pusse-kat*, a kitlin" (Florio).

The *NED.* first finds it in 1565. But it was a surname three centuries earlier—

"Ilyf le Messer vulneravit Robertum Pusekat juxta pontem de Corebrigge, ita quod statim obiit" (*Northumb. Ass. R.* 1256).

CHAPTER II

THE TEUTONIC NAME-SYSTEM

"It seemeth to have been the manner, at giving of names, to wish the children might perform and discharge their names, as when Gunthram, King of the French, named Clotharius at the font, he said, 'Crescat puer et hujus sit nominis executor'" (CAMDEN).

THE names in use among all the Germanic races, including Scandinavia and Iceland, go back to that period in the history of the world when all men seem to have been poets. When we consider the beauty of the oldest of these names, their picturesque connection with gods and heroes, war and the wilds, and with the great elementary abstract concepts which we no longer understand, and compare with them the name creations of the Romans, and still more of the Middle Ages, commonplace, prosaic, spiteful, or obscene, we feel thankful that there was once an age of poetic bandits and imaginative pirates. These Teutonic names were originally all dithemetic,[1] i.e. each name

[1] This very natural formation is common to the Aryan races, with the rather striking exception of the Romans. The chief Celtic names exemplify it, e.g. Donald, world-wielder, "much the same meaning as Dumnorix" (Macbain), Dugald, black stranger, i.e. Dane, Duncan, brown warrior, Morgan, sea-white. It is seen also in Oriental names, such as the Biblical Absalom, father of peace, Jeremiah, exalted of the Lord, Jonathan, the Lord's gift. This latter is a very favourite combination; cf. Godiva (Godgifu), Theodore, Dorothea, Deodatus, Dieudonné, etc. So also in Arabic

consisted of two elements, e.g. Alfred, fairly counsel, and there can be no doubt that in the earliest times the elements were understood by those who bore the names, as were the Greek names which they so strikingly resemble in structure and spirit. This resemblance has often been pointed out, e.g. *Godwin*, God friend, Theophilus, *Folkard*, people strong, Demosthenes, *Sebert, Sebright*, victory bright, Nicophanes.

At the period with which our historical documents deal, these names had largely ceased to have a real meaning. The elements of which they were composed were drawn chiefly from the archaic and poetic language and these elements were often combined so as to make no sense. A very common practice in naming children was to compound the name from that of the father and mother, somewhat after the practice followed by modern racehorse owners. Or one element persisted in a family, e.g. in the six generations from Edward the Elder to Edgar Atheling practically all the kings and royal princes have names in *Ead*, bliss. The elements are juxtaposed without anything to show their grammatical relationship, so that in interpreting them one can only indicate the general idea which each half expressed. Still, there are many examples of these compound names which still occur in Anglo-Saxon poetry as common nouns, e.g. Gold wine, gold friend, whence our surname *Goldwin*,[1] is

Abdallah means "servant of God" (cf. AS. Godescealc), Saladin is "honour of the faith," and Nureddin, the name of the Turkish commander in Mesopotamia, means "light of the faith."

[1] Hence also *Jeudwin*, an Anglo-French form [Richard Joldewin *or* Jeudewyne, *IpM.*]. Jawdewin's Lane, Oxford, was perhaps named after Richard Jeodewyne, who is mentioned in the *Godstow Cartulary*.

used of a liberal patron, Heremann, army man, whence *Harman*, means a warrior, Maegenheard, might hard, our *Maynard*, is found as an adjective in the sense of strong.

Of the names dealt with here the great majority are common to the Teutonic languages, with certain small differences according as the forms are German, Scandinavian, or English. Some belong especially to one or other of these language groups, e.g. the names which contain the elements *Brand*, flame, sword, *Cytel*, cauldron, are Scandinavian, while those in *-nand*, bold, e.g. Ferdinand, are continental and of rare occurrence in Anglo-Saxon. In the following paragraphs I give the names in the normalized West-Saxon spelling, from Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, calling attention occasionally to the Norse or continental forms and the surnames which they have produced in English and other languages. I have already (*Romance of Names*, ch. vii.) mentioned a number of obvious examples. Here I have rather selected those of which the origin is not immediately apparent or which have an unusual appearance. The great variation in the modern English forms is due to many accidents of time and place, but chiefly to the fact that the same name has often reached us through different channels—English, French, and Flemish. Possibly some of them are really Celtic names which have assumed an imitative form. It is thought, for instance, that Cerdic may be for Cradock, Caractacus. If this is so, Scott was doubly unfortunate in choosing a Welsh name for a typical Anglo-Saxon and then turning it into the ghost-name Cedric.

The Teutonic name-system was carried into every

corner of Europe, first by the Vikings, and later by those valiant Norman knights who were in the habit of setting out with a handful of followers to carve themselves out a kingdom. Thus *Roderick*, fame mighty, is found as wide apart as Wales (*Prothero, Ryrie, Prytherick*) and Russia (Rurik), and has named such national heroes as the Spanish Cid (Don Rodrigo), Roderick Dhu, and Rory O'More. For fuller information on the historic warriors and saints who caused certain names to be popular in special regions those interested should consult Charlotte Yonge's *Christian Names*, a book which contains a vast amount of learning couched in gracious form, though the etymological theories put forward are sometimes inaccurate and out of date.

Most of the elements [1] used in these names can be put indifferently first or last, e.g. Hereric, whence *Herrick*, Richere, whence *Richer*, *Reacher*. Some are used only initially, e.g. *Mægen*, as in Mægenfrith, whence *Manfred*, others only finally, e.g. *-laf*, as in Frithulaf, now *Freelove*, or *-mund*, as in Frithumund, whence *Freemont*. Generally the gender of the second theme corresponds with that of the person, e.g. names in the feminine nouns *-thryth* and *-hild* were given to females only. Examples are Æthelthryth, *Awdrey*, Gærthryth (Gertrude), *Gartrude*, and the two fierce queens Brunehild and Chriemhild. But this was not a fixed rule; there are, for instance, many male names ending in the feminine *-mund*.

The elements which enter into the composition of Teutonic names fall into various groups, such as deities and supernatural beings, animals, abstract

[1] The meanings of these elements are discussed further on.

ideas, weapons, titles and epithets, adjectives. The chief divine elements are *God, Ans, Ing.*[1] The great names of Odin and Freya seem to have been avoided, but Thor is very common. The element *God* appears to have been often felt as identical with *good.* Hence, perhaps, the later forms such as *Goodrich, Goodwin,* and also the shortened *Good,* which is by no means always a nickname. Here belong such apparently insignificant names as *Gobb, Gobbett, Gobby,* shortened from such compounds as Godbeorht (Theophanes), Godbeald (Theocrates). The latter survives in full as *Godbolt* and *Goble,* while the former is represented in French by *Gobert* and *Joubert.* Shortened forms of *God* names are German *Goethe* and Italian *Giotto.* It appears also as the second element in many modern English surnames, e.g. *Wingood,* from AS. Winegod, *Osgood, Hosegood, Horsegood,* from AS. Osgod.

The *Aasir,* as Miss Yonge calls them, the *Ansen* as they are named by the Germans, were the divine race inhabiting Asgard, the Norse Olympus. This very interesting prefix, which may be taken as almost equivalent to *God,* appears in three forms. The Norse is *As,* the Anglo-Saxon is *Os,* and the German is *Ans.* From Ascytel we have *Ashkettle* and the contracted *Askell, Astell,* etc., while in France a kind of compromise between the Norse and German forms produced *Anquetil,* introduced into England as *Ankettle.* So also Fr. *Angot* is the doublet of *Osgood.* In *Haskell* we have the common addition of the aspirate [Haschetill Werglice, *Salisbury Chart.*]. Several surnames

[1] The final *-ing,* which appears in an immense number of names derived from Anglo-Saxon, was a tribal or patronymic suffix.

preserve the Anglo-Saxon form (*Osborn, Osman, Osmond, Oswald*, etc.), while the German gave the famous Anselm, whence our *Ansell, Hansell* and the Dutch dim. *Enslin*. *Ing*, the name of a demi-god, seems to have been early confused with the Christian *angel* in the prefix *Engel*, common in German names, e.g. *Engelhardt*, anglicized as *Engleheart*.[1] In Anglo-Saxon we find both *Ing* and *Ingel*. The modern name *Ingoll* represents Ingweald (Ingold), and *Inglett* is a dim. of similar origin. The cheerful *Inglebright* is from Ingelbeorht. The simple *Ing* has given, through Norse Ingwar, the Scottish *Ivor*.

The Norse *Thor* became AS. *Thur*, which in the compound Thurcytel gave Scottish Torquil (whence *MacCorquodale*), and our *Thurkettle, Thurkell, Thurtle, Thirkettle, Thirkell, Thirkhill, Turtle*, and *Tuttle*,[2] as in *Tuttlebee*, from Thirkleby (Yorks). Thoroughkettle is found in the eighteenth century. *Turketine* may be formed in the same way as Anketin, Rosketin (p. 33), but Henry de Turkedene (*Glouc. Cart.*) suggests a local origin, from Turkdene (Glouc.) with the ending changed as in *Heseltine* (Hazeldean). Other compounds of Thor are Thurgisl, whence *Thurgell*, Thurgær, now *Thurgar*, and Thurfrith, the wife of Hereward (Torfrida), surviving as *Turfery, Tuffery, Tollfree*. The *Thur* names did not flourish in Germany, but the Norsemen took them to France, whence as *Turbert, Turgis, Turpin*, they came to England and gave *Turbott, Turgoose*, etc. The very common Thurstan became in France *Tustain, Tustin*,

[1] This may, however, be native [Petronilla f. Engelliert, *Fine R.*]

[2] This has also a local origin, from *toothill*, a watch-tower—"David dwellide in the *tote hil*" (Wyc. 2 *Sam.* v. 9).

Tutin, all now well-established English surnames. I fancy that this will one day be found to be the origin of the supposed Celtic *Tristram*, of which the oldest form appears to be Durstan. *Tarbath* is a curious corruption of Thurbeorht and *Tarbun* of Thurbeorn.

With these mythological names may be grouped those in *Ealh*, temple, and the legendary *Hun*, giant, and *Ælf*, fairy. In connection with the first it should be noted that four of the commonest Anglo-Saxon elements, *Ælf*, *Æthel*, *Eald*, *Ealh*, very easily became confused, especially after the Conquest, and hence modern surnames in *Al-*, *Ayl-*, *El-* (*Alwin*, *Aylward*, *Elwin*) may belong to any of them. We find historic Ealhfriths who were known also as Alfrith and Alfridus, which, as surnames, would easily fall together with those derived from Ælfred and Ælfric. So *Aymer*, *Aylmer*, may represent, and does in individual cases, both Ælfmær and Æthelmær. The most famous name in *Ealh* is Ealhwine (Alcuin), which survives as *Allchin*, *Alkin*, and is perhaps not altogether foreign to *Hawkins*. *Allcard* is AS. Ealhheard, while Fr. *Aucher* corresponds to AS. Ealhhere, and may be derived directly from it, as the corresponding element is scarcely found in continental German names. Names in *Ælf* are very numerous and correspond to continental forms in *Alb*. Thus our *Avery*, less commonly *Affery*, *Affray*, *Allfree*, which stands for both Ælfred and Ælfric, is the same as Fr. *Aubrey* from Alberic. *Alflatt*, *Elfleet*, *Elflitt* is from Ælfflæd, elf purity, *Alliott* from Ælfgeat, *Elver* from Ælfhere, *Elvidge*, *Elvish* from Ælfheah, *Elnough* from Ælfnoth, *Elston* from Ælfstan, *Elwall* from Ælfweald, and very probably *Halsey* from Ælfsige,

with the incorrect *H-*[1] which we find in many names of this class. The tribal name of the dwarfish Huns was applied, curiously enough, in Old German to legendary giants, and is still so used in poetic style. It is not common in purely Anglo-Saxon names, though we have a few good examples, e.g. Hunfrith, whence *Humphrey*, and Hunbeorht which is Fr. *Humbert* and appears also in the Ger. *Humperdinck*. Hunbeald is so rare that we dare hardly invoke it to explain our *Honeyball*, but it is represented by Ger. *Humboldt*.

When we come to the names of animals which were used in the formation of human names, we naturally find a great difference between the Greeks and the Teutons. Among the former we find chief honour paid to the lion (Leonidas, Timoleon), and the horse (Philip, Hippolytus, Xanthippe). To the old Teutons the lion was unknown, though the rather late name *Leonard*, lion strong, formed from it, appears in most European languages. The horse was also of little account on the salt seas and in the German forests, and the legendary nicknames of the Jutish invaders, "stallion" and "mare" (Hengist and Horsa), alluded to their flag, on which the white horse was a strange exotic beast to be classed with dragons and griffins. The only common Anglo-Saxon name formed directly from "horse" is Roscytel. This is fairly common in Middle English, and still survives as *Roskill* [Swein f. Roskil, *Pipe R.*], while the derivative Rosketin

[1] Examples are *Hatchard* (OF. Achard), *Hansell* (p. 31), *Haskell* (p. 30), *Hasluck* (AS. Aslac), *Hosmer* (AS. Osmær), and *Hansard*, from OF. Ansard, OG. Anshard. The use of "Hansard" by modern writers on economics in the sense of a member of the Hanse League is a blunder. The first example of this use in the *NED.* is dated 1832!

(cf. Anketin from Anscytel) has given *Ruskin* [Andrew Rosekin, *Pat. R.*]. The original *Roskill* has generally been swallowed up by *Russell*. *Rosamond, Roseman* contain the same element, but are of continental origin.

For the Teutons the two kings of the forest were the bear and the boar, in connection with which we observe a very curious phenomenon. *Beorn*, so common in Anglo-Saxon names, means warrior, while in Norse and German it means bear. *Eofor*, equally common, means boar in Anglo-Saxon and German, but warrior in Norse. In each case one language has personified the formidable beast into a human being. Any modern *Barnard* or *Everett* is therefore etymologically a strong bear or boar, or a strong warrior, according as his ancestry is pure Anglo-Saxon or continental. The favourite *Beorn* name was *Beornheard*, whence *Burnard, Burnett, Barnard, Barnett*, etc. It has also many derivatives in French and German (*Behrens, Bernhardi*, etc.). Other names of this group which have survived are Beornheah, now *Barnish, Burnage, Burnish* (cf. *Alphege, Elvish*, from Ælfheah), Beornher, one origin of the common Fr. *Bernier*, and of our *Berner*, Beornstan, now *Burnstone*, Beornweald, now *Barnwell, Bernal, Burnell*, and Beornwulf which would give the same result, but some of the English names here enumerated have an alternative origin. The same element is final in Sigebeorn, now *Siborne*, Thurbeorne, now *Thorburn*, Wigbeorn, now *Whyborn*, etc. The simple *Ber* does not appear in Anglo-Saxon names, but Fr. Beraud, Beroalde, OG. Berwald, is the chief source of our *Barrett*. But the most interesting of the "bear" names in Fr. *Bérenger*, OG. Beringar. It was very popular in England and shows

the common confusion of *-r-*, *-l-*, *-n-*, in the modern surnames *Barringer*, *Berringer*, *Ballinger*, *Bellinger*, *Benninger* [John Beringer *or* Beniger, *IpM.*]. Its latest transformation is *Bellhanger*. *Eofor* is less common in Anglo-Saxon than the corresponding *Eber* in Germany (*Ebers*, *Eberlin*, etc.), and it is possible that the favourite *Everard*, *Everett* came to us from Eberhard, via Old French. But AS. Eoforwine, besides giving *Everwin*, has run riot with the vowels [1] in *Erwin*, *Irwin*, *Orwin*, *Urwin*.

Quite as important as the bear and the boar are the mysterious wolf and raven, the companions of Odin. AS. *Wulf* appears initially in a great number of names, and the modern name *Wolfe*, *Woof*, is sometimes a shortened form of these rather than a nickname. Most historical of all is the dim. Ulfilas, the name of the translator of the Gothic Bible. Among compounds of *Wulf* are Wulfgar (*Woolgar*), Wulfnoth (*Woolnough*), Wulfred, Wulfric (*Woolfrey*, *Woolfries*), Wulfstan, whence the local *Wolstenholme* and *Wolstoncraft*, Wulfwig (*Woolley*), and Wulfwine (*Woolven*, *Woollen*). In the Norse forms the initial has disappeared, e.g. *Ulph*, *Uff*, and *Uffendell*, the doublet of the native *Wolfendale*, etc. In French these names replace initial *W-* by *G-* or *Gu-*, e.g. *Golfier* (Wulfhere), one source of our *Gulliver* and the origin of the local *Montgolfier*. Almost as numerous are the names in which *-wulf* is final, but here the origin is generally

[1] Our surnames come from the dialects, and the dialects do as they like with the vowels, e.g. from *Lamb* we have *Lomb*, *Lumb*, common Middle English forms, and also *Lemm*, *Limb*. *Long* is also *Lang*, *Lung*, *Leng*, and possibly sometimes *Ling*. Cf. the local *Crankhorn* and *Crankshaw*, the first element of which, meaning "crooked," also occurs as *Crenk-*, *Crink-*, *Cronk-*, *Crunk-*.

disguised,[1] e.g. *Addle* from Æthelwulf, with which cf. the fine German name Adolf and its atrocious "latinization" into Adolphus, *Raddle, Rattle,* from Rædwulf, *Kinnell* from Cynewulf, etc. In French names of similar origin the termination usually becomes *-ouf,* or *-oul,* e.g. *Burnouf, Renouf* correspond to AS. Brunwulf, Regenwulf, while *Raoul* is our *Ralph,*[2] *Relf,* i.e. Rædwulf.

The raven appears initially in Ræfencytel, whence *Rankill,* Ræfenhild, which is one source of *Ravenhill,* and Ræfensweart, now *Ravenshear, Ramshire, Ramsker.* Wælræfen survives as *Wallraven.* The simple *Raven,* common also in place-names, is more often an Anglo-Saxon personal name than a later nickname from the bird. The raven names are especially Norse, and the corresponding German names, and hence Old French names also, are not numerous, but we have contractions of OG. *Raban* in the well-known dithemetic names *Bertram* and *Wolfram.* More numerous are the eagle names, beginning with *Earn* in Anglo-Saxon. By far the commonest of these is *Arnold,* a favourite German name, which takes in Low German the form Arend, the source of the Norfolk name *Arrand.* It is rare in Anglo-Saxon, so the probability is that our *Arnall* represents rather the much commoner Earnwulf. Two especially interesting Anglo-Saxon names are Earnthur, whence the so-called Keltic *Arthur,* and Earncytel, now *Arkell, Arkle, Argles, Arkcoll,* etc. From Arthur come the imitative *Authors* and *Earthy.* With

[1] Endings such as *-weald, -wulf, -hild* are often confused, e.g. *Gunnell* represents both Gunwulf and Gunhild.

[2] *Ralph* itself is, however, due to French influence, as is shown by the loss of the medial *-d-*.

the same group may be classed the Norse *Orm*, dragon, serpent (worm), whence the famous Guthorm, still existing as *Guthrum*, *Goodrum*, while *Wormald* from Wurmbeald shows the Anglo-Saxon form. We have also a few names in *Swan-*, e.g. Swanhild, now *Swannell*; but this is for AS. *swan*, a "swain" (see p. 42). The modern name *Swan* is more often a nickname. Many names similar to the above were used as *cognomina* by the Romans, e.g. Ursus, Aper, Lupus, Corvus, Aquila, but these were nicknames pure and simple.

Among common Anglo-Saxon names we find no fewer than five elements, *Bead*, *Gund* (*Guth*), *Heath*, *Hild*, *Wig*, which contain the idea of war or battle. The names of Hildebrand and his son Hadubrand are thus identical in meaning. Sometimes these elements occur in combination, e.g. Gunhild (*Gunnell*), Heathwig (*Hadaway*, *Hathaway* [1]). Other examples are Beaduric (*Badrick*, *Batters*), Gundwine (*Gunwin*), Heathured (*Hatred*), Heathuwine (*Hadwin*), Hildegar (*Hilger*, *Hillyar*), Wigman (*Wyman*). *Hilditch*, *Hildick* looks local, but is AS. Hildheah, though the name is not in Searle [William f. Hildich, *Close R.*]. *Wig* is especially common as second element and is responsible for many names in *-way* which have a local appearance, e.g. *Ellway* (Ælfwig), *Harraway* (Herewig), *Kennaway* (Coenwig), *Goodway* (Godwig), *Redway*, *Reddaway* (Rædwig), *Otway*, *Ottoway* (Othwig), *Bothway*, *Botherway* (Bodwig [2]), and *Hadaway* (v.s.). So also in the first syllable we get *Way-*, as in *Waymark* (Wigmearc), *Waygood* (Wigod), alternating with *Why-*, *Wy-*, as in

[1] Also local, of the "heath way."

[2] Not in Searle, but certified by the Norman form Bovig (*DB.*), and Alan Butewey (*Hund. R.*).

Whybird (Wigbeorht), *Whyborn, Wyburn* (Wigbeorn), etc. With this group may be classed also names in *Sige*, victory, e.g. *Sibbald* (Sigebeald), *Sibary, Sibree* [1] (Sigebeorht), *Sinnott, Sennett* (Sigenoth), *Syrett, Secret* (Sigered), *Search,*[2] *Surch* (Sigeric), *Brixey* (Beorhtsige); in *Here*, army, e.g. Folchere, whence *Folker, Fulker, Fulcher, Futcher*, etc., Heregod, now *Hargood*; and in *Fær*, danger, e.g. Faerman (*Fairman,*[3] *Farman, Fireman*). It is not impossible that our homely *Farthing* may sometimes derive from Færthegn.

Equally warlike are the numerous names derived from weapons. Arms of offence and defence are *Æsc*, spear (ash), as in Æscwine (*Ashwin*), *Bil*, sword, as in Bilheard (*Billiard*), Bilweald (*Billiald*), *Brand*, sword (flame), as in Colbrand (*Colbrain*), *Ecg*, edge (of the sword), as in Ecgheard (*Eachard*), *Gær*, spear, as in Gærwine (*Garvin*), Othgær (*Odgers*), *Helm*, helmet, as in Helmær (*Helmer*), *Ord*, spear point, as in Ordwig (*Ordway*), Ordgær (*Orgar*), shortened also to *Ord* [Humphrey FitzOrd, *Salisbury Chart.*], and *Rand*, shield, as in Randwulf [4] (*Randall, Rendle, Rundle*), Beorhtrand (*Bertrand*), to be distinguished from Beorhtram,[5] bright raven (*Bartram*). But some names in *Bil* belong to William, for we find William "dictus Byl" in the thirteenth century. Here belongs probably the dim. *Billion*. *Brand* is much commoner alone than in compounds, and has also become *Brond*.

[1] For this rather unusual development cf. the pronunciation of Kirkcudbright.

[2] Reginald Serich *or* Serche (*Coram Rege R.* 1297).

[3] Of course, also a nickname; cf. Fr. *Belhomme*.

[4] Randolph (shield wolf), Ranulf (raven wolf), Radulf, Ralph (counsel wolf), are separate names, though often confused.

[5] Neither name is in Searle. They came to us through French.

Gellibrand, Gillibrand must represent Gislbrand [John Gilibrond, *Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285], though the name is not in Searle. *Cytel, Ketel,* cauldron (of the gods), is now found as *Kettle, Kittle, Chettle, Cattle,* etc., as well as initially in *Kettleburn* [Henry Ketelbern, *Chart. R.*], and in many names of local origin. *Chilvers* is for Cytelweard, found in *DB.* as Chilvert. Hence also *Kilvert.*

Forming a transition from war to peace we have the important elements *Burg,* refuge, castle, and *Mund,* protection, as in Burgheard (*Burchard, Burchett*), Wilburg (*Wilbur*), Æthelmund (*Almond*), Færmund (*Farrimond*). Here also we might put *Weard,* guard, the derivatives of which easily get mixed with those of *Heard,* e.g. Coenweard (*Kenward, Kennard*). *Frithu,* peace, has given us many favourite font-names which have later become surnames, e.g. Domfrith (*Dumphrey, Dumpress*), Frithugar (*Fricker*), Frithmund (*Fiddyment* [1]). To the last name, or to some other compound of *Frithu,* such as the once favourite Frithuswith or Friswid, patron saint of the University of Oxford, belong *Fiddy, Fiddian, Phythian, Phethean.* This element often becomes *Free* in modern surnames, e.g. *Freestone* from Frithustan, *Freelove* from Frithulaf [Frelof Pollard, *Chart. R.*]. It also appears in *Frizzle, Froysell,* which in Scotland has unaccountably become *Frazer*—

"Simond [2] *Frysel*
That was traytour and fykell" (*Song,* temp. Ed. I.)—

[1] The *r* is lost, as in Biddy (Bridget), Fanny (Frances).

[2] The common Middle English use of Simond for Simon suggests that the modern *Symonds, Simmonds* is only occasionally from AS. Sigemund—"*Symound,* I have sum thing for to seye to thee" (Wyc. *Luke,* vii. 40).

and in Fr. *Froissart*, represented by our *Frushard*, *Frusher*.

The importance of the tribal idea is reflected in the frequent occurrence of *Folc*, *Leod*, *Theod*, all meaning people, nation, e.g. Folcweard (*Folkard*, *Vaulkhard*), Leodgar (*Ledger*), Theodric (*Terry*, *Derrick*, *Dethridge*, *Derry*, *Todrick*), Theodbeald (*Theobald*, *Tibbles*, *Tipple*, *Tidball*, *Tidbald*, *Tidboald*, *Tudball*, *Deeble*, *Dipple*, *Tebbutt*, *Debutt*, *Dyball*, etc.). We have also the shortened *Theed*, *Teed* [William Thede, *Hund. R.*]. With this important group may be compared the numerous Greek names in *demos* and *laus*, e.g. Democritus, Laomedon, Nicodemus, Agesilaus, etc. The public meeting of the tribe is commemorated by names in *Mæthel* and *Thing*, both meaning assembly. From the first come *Mauger*, *Major* (Mæthelgær), and *Maber*, *Malabar*, and Fr. *Maubert* (Mæthelbeorht); from the second our *Dingle*, *Tingle*, a common personal name in Middle English [William Dingel, *Hund. R.*], from AS. Thingwulf or Dingolf. Similarly Greek had names such as Anaxagores, Pythagoras derived from the *agora*, the market-place, which was to the Greeks what the forum was to the Romans. The modern surname *Lawman* may be AS. Lagmann, lawyer, the name of the poet whom we call Layamon, but the latter is so rare a name that it is probably safer to refer *Lawman* to Lawrence (cf. *Jackman*, *Hobman*, etc.).

A very common element connected with authority is *Weald* (wield), rule, as in Wealdwine, now *Walwin*, *Wallen*, but occurring much more commonly as a suffix, e.g. Beorhtweald (*Brettle*, *Brittle*), Grimbeald (*Grimble*), Hygebeald (*Hubble*), Winebeald (*Wimble*), etc. Property and its rights are represented by

Geard, enclosure, "garth," *Haga*, enclosure, "haw," *Mearc*, mark, boundary, and *Stan*, stone, probably also in this case a boundary mark. Examples are Frithugeard (*Freeguard*), Haganfrith (*Henfrey*), Wigmearc (*Wymark, Waymark*), Goldstan (*Goldstone*), Stanmær (*Stammers*), Stanbeald (*Stumbles* [1]). To Haga belongs the famous Nibelung *Hagen*, while *Hammond* is Fr. *Hamon*, short for OG. Haganmund. The Middle English contraction of Hagan was *Hain*—

"*Heyne* hath a newe cote and his wyf another" (*Piers Plowman*)—

the origin of our *Haines, Haynes*, which may also be from the same word in its literal sense of hedge, enclosure. Land and sea have given us *Lambert* (Landbeorht), *Saffrey, Savory* (Sæfrith), *Seagram, Seagrim* (Sægrim), and especially *Sagar, Sayers, Sears* and many other variants (Sægær). These compounds are often not to be distinguished from those of *Sige* (p. 38), e.g. *Seawright* may represent Særic or Sigeric.

From a very large number of abstract ideas we may select the following—*Amal*, work, as in Amalric, whence, or from the transposed Amalric, come, chiefly through French, our *Amory, Amery, Emery, Imray, Imrie*, while the Italian form Amerigo ultimately named a continent; *Dæg*, day, as in Dægheard, *Daggett*, Dægmær, *Damer*, Dægmund, now *Daymond, Dayman, Damant*, etc., often altered to *Diamond*, and the shortened forms *Dack* and *Day*, the latter of which has other and more common origins; *Ead*, bless, the first element in so many Anglo-Saxon

[1] Alan Stumbel (*Pat. R.*); cf. *Rundle* for *Randle*. "Rondulf the reve" (*Piers Plowm.* A. ii. 78) is in the variants Rainald and Reynald.

names, some of which are now a little disguised, e.g. *Ager, Adger* from Eadgar, *Admer* from Eadmær; *Hyge*, mind, courage, as in Hygebeorht, whence *Hubert, Hubbard, Hibbert, Hobart*, and the favourite ME. *Hugh* from which we have so many derivatives (*Huggins, Howchin, Hewlings, Hullett*, etc.); *Laf*, remnant, as in Anlaf,[1] now *Olife*; Mægen, might, as in Mægenhild, one source of *Meynell* [Peter Maynild, *Pat. R.*]; *Noth*, fame, as in Nothgær, whence Ger. *Notker*, Fr. *Nodier*, and perhaps some of our *Nutters*; *Ræd*, counsel, of which the most popular compound was Rædwulf, our *Ralph, Relf, Raw*, and, via Fr. Raoul, Raoulin, our *Rawle, Rawlin*[2]; *Thanc*, thanks, as in *Tancred* or *Tankard* and Ger. *Danckwertz*. Most of these can also occur finally, e.g. Ætheldæg, *Allday*, Ealdræd, *Aldred, Aldritt, Alldread*, etc.

Besides *Beorn* (p. 34), Anglo-Saxon used *Mann* for warrior, hero. This occurs as second element in a great number of compounds of a descriptive kind, e.g. Freoman (*Freeman*), Northman (*Norman*), Heardman (*Hardman*), etc., many of which are of course also nicknames of later formation. For servant we have *Scealc*, as in Godescealc, one source of *Godsell, Gutsell*, but much commoner in German (*Gottschalk*), and *Swegen* or *Swan*,[3] usually occurring alone, *Swain, Swan*. All of these elements have poetically the meaning of warrior and in prose that of servant. *Cuth*, acquaintance, "kith," occurs in the favourite Cuthbeald and Cuthbeorht, the former of which shares

[1] This is the Anglo-Saxon form of Norse Olafr, *Oliver*.

[2] *Rolfe, Roff* have often interchanged with this group, but really represent ON. Hrolfr, cognate with Ger. Rudolf, fame wolf.

[3] Norse and Anglo-Saxon forms of the same word.

Cobbold with Godbeald, while the latter survives as *Cobbett, Cubitt. Cuttell, Cottle* may stand for either Cuthhelm or Cuthwulf. *Wine,* friend, is very common both as initial and final, e.g. Winebeald (*Winbolt*), Glædwine (*Gladwin*). The common *Unwin,* un-friend, enemy, is very rare as an Anglo-Saxon name, and must generally have been rather a nickname. *Vinegar* seems to be an imitative spelling of Winegær. *Gisl,* hostage, is the first element of *Gilbert,* AS. Gislbeorht, but its popularity came through French. From Gislhere comes Ger. *Gessler,* the villain of the Tell myth. Thurgisl is the origin of *Thurgill,* and also of Fr. *Turgis,* whence Eng. *Sturgess,* and *Todkill* is earlier Theodgild, probably for Theodgisl. Wæltheof means the thief of slaughter, with a first element which we find in Valkyrie and Valhalla, while Friththeof, the hero of an ancient saga and a modern North Pole expedition, means thief of peace. Some authorities think the ending was originally *-theow,* servant, slave, which appears to survive in *Walthew, Waltho, Waldo. Wiht,* creature, sprite, is very common as first element, e.g. Wihtric, now *Whittrick,* Wightgar, now *Widger.* Another form, *Uht,* appears in the popular Uhtred, whence *Oughtred* and the imitative *Outright.*

Among simple adjectives the commonest are *Æthel,* noble, as in Æthelweard (*Aylward, Adlard, Allard*); *Beorht,* bright, as in Beorhtman (*Brightman ;* cf. Greek Androcles), Beorhtgifu (*Brighteve*), Beorhtmær (*Brightmore, Brimmer*), also very common finally, e.g. Gundbeorht, whence Fr. *Gondibert,* our *Gombert, Gumpert,* and Ger. *Gompertz ; Beald,* bold, as in Bealdhere (*Balder*), Dægbeald (*Daybell, Dabell*); *Cene,* keen, bold, as in Cenered (*Kindred*), equivalent to Ger.

Conrad (Thrasybulus); *Cyne*, royal, as in Cynesige (*Kinsey*), Cynewulf (*Kinnell*); *Deor*, dear, as in Deorweald (*Dorrell, Durrell*); *Eald*, old, as in Ealdwig (*Aldwy*); *Eorp*, swarthy, as in Eorpwine (*Orpen*), common also in the shortened form *Earp, Orpe*; *Freo*, free, as in Freobeorn (*Freeborn*); *Grim*, grim, as in Grimbeald (*Grimble*), whence also, by a common metathesis, *Gumbrell*[1]; *Healf*, half, as in Healfdene (*Haldane*), the "half Dane"; *Heard*, hard, strong, as in Heardbeorht, which has contributed to *Herbert, Harbord*, etc., Stanheard (*Stannard*) and Gifheard (*Giffard*), the latter rare in Anglo-Saxon, but a favourite Norman name (cf. Ger. *Gebhardt*); *Leof*, dear, as in Leofsige (*Livesey, Lovesey*), Leofred and Leofric (*Livery, Luffery*); *Hlud*, loud, famous, rare in Anglo-Saxon, but very common in German names, e.g. *Ludwig, Luther*, whence Fr. *Louis, Lothair*, etc.; *Ric*, powerful, rich, as in Ricbeald (*Richbell*), Ricweald (*Riggall*), Ricweard (*Rickard*,[2] *Rickwood, Record*), Leofric (*Leveridge, Loveridge*); *Snel*, swift, valiant, as in Snelgær (*Snelgar*); *Wacer*, bold, as in Eadwacer (*Edicker*), corresponding to the continental Odoacer; *Wealh*, foreign, as in *Walkling, Wakeling*, a dim. of Old French origin, *Vauquelin*.

Two common elements which hardly fall into any of the classes already mentioned are *Regen* and *Gold*. The former, related to Goth. *ragin*, counsel, seems to have been used in Anglo-Saxon as a simple intensive. From shortened forms of the common Regenweald (*Reginald, Reynold*, Fr. *Renaud*), Regenheard (*Reynard, Renyard*, Fr. *Renard*), Regenhere (*Rayner*, Fr. *Régnier*),

[1] For the change of vowel cf. *Grimmett, Grummett*, which are common side by side in Lincolnshire.

[2] This is also from Richard.

etc., we sometimes get *Raine, Raines*, while *Raybould* is from Fr. *Reybaud*, corresponding to Regenbeald. *Gold* occurs both as initial and final, e.g. Goldhavoc (*Goldhawk*), Goldwine (*Goldwin, Jeudewin*), Inggold (*Ingold, Ingle*). *Goldmore* represents Goldmær, though this is not in Searle [Guldemor w. of Richard Astmund, *Fine R.*].

The frequency with which any given Anglo-Saxon name occurs as a modern surname is not so much due to its wide use before the Conquest as to its association with some great personality. After the Conquest our baptismal system became, in the main, French, although the French names in use were largely cognate with the Anglo-Saxon names which they superseded (see p. 10). But the memory of famous saints, like Guthlac and Cuthbert, or abbots like Thurcytel and Ealhwine, was reverenced in those districts where they had lived and worked, and their names were given to children born of parents who had worshipped at their shrines.

As we have noticed here and there, the modern surname often represents only the first element of the dithemetic personal name. A notable example is *Folc*, which owed its popularity to the Angevin dynasty. We find among its variants, *Folk, Fulk, Fewkes, Foulkes, Foakes, Fooks, Fowkes, Folkes, Volks, Vokes*,[1] and, with metathesis, *Flook, Fluke, Fluck, Flux*, while *Fogg, Fuge, Fudge, Fuke* are shortened from its compound *Fulcher* (*Folker, Fulker, Futcher, Fudger, Volker,*

[1] Here sometimes belongs *Vaux*, usually local, from one of many French place-names formed from *val*. *Vauxhall* was once a manor belonging to the notorious Falkes de Bréauté. His name, really the nominative of *Falcon, Facon*, survives as *Fakes, Fawkes, Feakes, Feggs*. Though distinct from *Fulk*, the two names have been confused.

etc.). Foggathorp (Yorks) is Fulcartorp in *DB.*, while, in the *Coram Rege R.* (1297), the same man is referred to as Henry Fulcher and Henry Fouch. The famous French name *Foch* is of course cognate. Other shortened names of this type, not already mentioned, are *Oram* from the Norse Orm [Orum solus, *Lib. Vit.*] and *Worms* from the Anglo-Saxon form, as in Wurmhere, *Frew, Frow,* from Freowine, whence *Frewin, Fruen, Gold,* generally shortened from some such name as Goldwine, *Main, Mayne,* from *Maynard* or some other compound of *Mægen, Wigg* from one of the many *Wig* names, *Winks,* perhaps from Wincthryth (*Lib. Vit.*), etc. Many of these are simple, but a great many of our short names of Anglo-Saxon origin are very difficult to identify. This difficulty is increased by the fact that names of this type are seldom recorded in the Rolls. The latter give almost invariably, in whatever language they are written, the font-name in its full conventional form. Occasionally a clue helps us, as in the case of *Fogg* and *Fudge* (v.s.), but the task of extending the work of Kemble [1] by identifying the great mass of these names with their originals still awaits an enthusiast.

N.B.—To have included many medieval examples would have made the foregoing chapter quite unreadable. The author's *Dictionary of Surnames,* if it is ever completed, will contain evidence of the survival and alteration of these Anglo-Saxon names.

[1] In his pamphlet, *The Names, Surnames, and Nicknames of the Anglo-Saxons* (Lond. 1846). This task has already been attempted, for German, by Starck, in his *Kosenamen der Germanen* (Vienna, 1868).

CHAPTER III

SOME LOCAL SURNAMES

"Nor indeed is he capable to beare any rule or office in town or countrey, who is utterly unacquainted with John an Okes and John a Stiles" (HOWELL, *Forraine Travell*).

APART from the innumerable names derived from towns, villages and estates, we have a very large number which originate from features of the landscape (*Hill, Wood, Field*), or from specific buildings or parts of buildings (*Church, House, Kitchen*). Many of the words from which such names come are quite obsolete or survive only in local dialect. Some of these, such as *Hurst, Shaw, Thwaite*, etc., survive very strongly in compounds, and are often curiously corrupted. For these, of which I have given a summary account in my *Romance of Names*, see ch. iv. Here I propose to deal rather with a number of obsolete or unfamiliar words which occur more often in their simple form. A few others are included because of their peculiar use as surnames. The list, though by no means exhaustive, contains a very large number of names which have never been explained, and the examples by which they are illustrated are usually some centuries older than the earliest records in any dictionary. A few others belonging to the same class

will be found scattered about in other chapters of the book in which accident has led to their mention.

In many cases names of this type are now specific place-names. We find constant references to "the Devizes," as to la Burcote, la Haye, la Poole, la Rye, la Sele, la Woodrow, etc., now known as Burcote, Hayes, Poole, Rye, Seal, Woodrow, but the entries show that the corresponding surnames often belong to the general as well as to the specific use of these words. In the early Rolls these names, or rather these addresses, are always preceded by prepositions, which have now generally disappeared. The following examples are put down just as they are printed in the Rolls:

John Abovebrok . . .	(*Hund. R.*)
Roger Abovetun *or* Bovetun .	(*Pat. R.*)
Roger ad capud villæ de Weston	(*Coram Rege R.* 1297).
Laurence Atepleystowe . .	(*Hund. R.*)
Alan ad le Loft . . .	(*Hund R.*)
Thomas Attehallyat . .	(*F. of Y.*)
Walter Attenovene . .	(*Hund. R.*)
Richard Atenorchard . .	(*Hund. R.*)
John atte Churchestyghele .	(*Pat. R.*)
Robert Attekirkstiel . .	(*F. of Y.*)
William Attelyhetewater . .	(*Cal. Gen.*)
Adam Blakothemor [1] . .	(*Exch. R.*)
William Bithekirke . . .	(*Close R.*)
Walter Biendebrok . . .	(*Fine R.*)
Thomas Bihunde Watere . .	(*Hund. R.*)
John Binetheinthetowne . .	(*Pat. R.*)
Geoffrey Bynethebrok . .	(*Hund. R.*)
William Binoptheweye . .	(*Hund. R.*)
Richard Bysowthewimpel .	(*Hund. R.*)
Ughtred Bithewater . .	(*Cal. Gen.*)
William del Holewstret . .	(*Hund. R.*)
Paul de Subburgo . .	(*IpM.*)
Richard de sut le Vile . .	(*Pat. R.*)
William de sut le Bois . .	(*Fine R.*)

[1] A misprint for Bakothemor, back of the moor.

Henry de ultra Aqua	(*Pipe R.*)
Edric de Ultra Usam[1]	(*Pipe R.*)
Henry in le Dyk	(*Leic. Bor. Rec.*)
Peter in le Hawe	(*Hund. R.*)
William in le Trees	(*IpM.*)
John in the Lane	(*City A.*)
William Ithelane	(*Fine R.*)
William Inthewro	(*Fine R.*)
Peter Ofthechircheyard	(*Fine R.*)
John Sourfleet	(*Coram Rege R.* 1297.)
Walter sub Muro *or* Onderwal	(*Leic. Bor. Rec.*)
William subtus Viam	(*Nom. Villarum Yorks.*)
Martin super le Wal	(*Hund. R.*)
William Surlewe	(*Pat. R.*)
William ultra Swalle	(*IpM.*)
Thomas under the Hou	(*Coram Rege R.* 1297)
John uppe the Hull	(*Pleas*)
Robert Wythouthetown	(*Hund. R.*)

Names in which the preposition has survived are still common in English as in other languages, e.g. Fr. *Doutrepont*, Ger. *Zumbusch*, Du. *Bezuidenhout*, south of the wood. *At* survives in many obvious names such as *Atwood*, *Attewell*. The following are less simple, *Athawes* (*haw*, a hedge enclosure), *Atheis* (*hays*, hedges), *Athews* (ME. *hiwisc*, homestead, whence *Huish*), *Athoke* (hook, bend), *Atkey* (quay), *Ato*, *Attoe*, *Hatto* (*hoe*, a sand-spit), *Athow* (*how*, a hill), *Attack*, *Attick*, *Attock* (oak), *Attenbarrow* (*barrow*, a mound), *Attrie* (*rye*, see p. 72), *Attrill*, AS. *æt thære hylle* [Thomas Atterhill, *Exch. R.*], *Attread* (reed), *Attride* (ME. *rithe*, *ride*, a small stream), *Attru* (*trough*, see *Trow*; or perhaps from *rew*, street, row), *Attwooll* (Wool,[2] *Dors.*), *Atyeo* (a Somerset surname, apparently from the river

[1] The Ouse; cf. *Surtees*.

[2] I do not know the origin of this place-name, but *Attwooll* is a Dorset surname, and this suggests that *Wool* has some general meaning.

Yeo). *Atterbury* is "at the bury," i.e. borough, and though there is an Attenborough in Notts, the fact that *Attenborough* is found along with *Atterbury* in many counties suggests that the two names are often of identical origin. So also *Atherall, Attreall,* at the *heal* (see p. 62). An interesting name of the same type is *Athersmith,* ME. *at ther smethe,* or level field, for which see p. 77. *Athersuch* probably contains *Sich* (q.v.), but the ending may be *Such,* a variant of *Zouch,* Fr. *souche,* a tree-stump. The reduction of *At* is seen in *A'Barrow, A'Burrow, A'Hearn* (corner), as in *Abear* (see p. 53), *Avann* (see p. 59), *Agutter.* In the latter name [Robert atte Gotere, *Pat. R.*] *gutter* means stream—

"The *guter* of waters" (Wyc. *Hab.* iii. 10).

It seems to have been equivalent to *gote,* a channel, whence *Gott* [William atte Gote *or* de la Gotere, of Boston, *Pat. R.*]. *At-* is also changed to *Ad-* and even *Ed-, Et-,* as in *Edmead, Ethawes.*

Names such as *Nash, Noakes, Nall* are well known to be aphetic forms of *atten ash, atten oaks, atten hall.* With these go *Niles, Nayland, Nyland* [Thomas Attenylonde, *Pat. R.*], *Norchard, Nendick* (end dike). We also get aphetic forms in which the initial *A-* alone has disappeared. The stock example is *Twells,* at wells. Here belong *Tash* (at ash), *Taw* (*Athaw,* v.s.), *Toe, Toes* (*Atto,* v.s.), *Trill* (*Attrill,* v.s.), and probably *Trood* [Margaret atte Rude, *Pleas.*]. The Border name *Trodden* may be from northern dial. *roddin,* a sheep-track.

Occasionally the AF. *al* (*a le*) and *a la* seem to survive, e.g. *Algate, Allchurch, Allpass, Allpike*

(*Hallpike*[1]), *Alltoft, Altree, Allabyrne* (burn), but alternative explanations could be given for most of these, e.g. the prefix may be *ald*, old, or *Allabyrne* may be only an elaboration of *Alabone, Allibone*, which in its turn is a perversion of Alban [Hugh Alybon, *Coram Rege R.* 1297]. *Allhusen* seems to represent *al* and the old dat. plur. *husum*, houses. But *del, de la*, are common, the former being often altered to *dal, dil, dol*. Examples are *Delahunte, Delahunty, Delhay, Dallicoat, Dallicott, Dallamore, Dillamore, Dollymore, Dellaway, Dilloway, Dolloway, Delbridge, Dealbridge, Dealchamber, Dillistones, Dallywaters*, to which many more could be added. *Dellow* probably contains *how*, a hill [William Delhow, *Hund. R.*], while *Dellew* is for *del ewe*, water, also a common entry.

Names in *Du-*, e.g. *Dupree, Duppery*, Fr. *Dupré*, of the meadow, *Duberley*, i.e. *du Boulay* (birch grove), are generally of more recent introduction from French. The retention of *de* in names of French origin, *Danvers* (Antwerp), *Darcy* (Arsy, Oise), *Davers* (Auvers, Manche), *Dorsey* (Orsay, Seine-et-Oise), is common, but we seem also to have a few cases of this preposition coalescing with a purely English word. Such appears to be the explanation of *Dash* or *Daish* (ash) and *Dashwood, Delderfield*; cf. Nicholas Dinkepenne, i.e. of Inkpen (*Chart R.*).

Besides the obvious *Bycroft, Byford, Bysouth, Bytheway* or *Bidaway, Bythesea, Bywater*, we have *By-*[2] in *Bygrave, Bygreaves*, where the second element may

[1] The aspirate need not trouble us; cf. Edward Hupcornehill (Stow), John Sterthop (*Close R.*).

[2] In some cases this may be the noun *bye*, homestead, e.g. *Byas, Byers, Bias*, " by-house," may mean the farm-house.

mean grove (ME. *greve*) or quarry, trench (ME. *græf*), *Bygott*, which being a Lincolnshire name goes rather with *Gott* (v.s.) than with the nickname Bigod (bigot), and *Bying* (see *ing*, p. 64). To these should, I think, be added *Bidlake* and *Bidmead*, *Bitmead*, which contain the definite article, and probably *Behagg*, dial. *hag*, hedge, enclosure. For *Overy*, see p. 71. Names in *Under-* and *Up-* are fairly numerous and generally simple. *Undrell* is for *Underhill* and *Upfill* for *Upfield* or *Upfold*. With *Upward* cf. *Downward* or *Downhard*, *Forward*, *Southward*, etc. Sometimes in such names *-ward* is substituted for *-wood* (cf. *Homeward* for "holm wood," i.e. holly wood), but they are also to be taken literally. With Bartholomew Forward (*Hund. R.*) cf. Robert Avant (*Ramsey Cart.*) or Julian a Netherward (*Hund. R.*), evidently one origin of *Netherwood*. *Downton* and *Upton* must sometimes have been applied to men who lived "down town" and "up town" respectively.

A few other prepositions occur sporadically. *Inderwick*, *Enderwick* is ME. *in ther wick*, i.e. homestead, village, etc. The existence of Walter Underwater (*Lanc. Inq.* 1205–1307) suggests that *Bowater* is for *bove-water*.[1] *Neathway* is "beneath the way," and *Withinshaw*, if not a corruption of "withy shaw," willow wood, belongs to the same class. In *Hindhaugh* and *Hindmarsh* the prefix may have adverbial or prepositional force.

The following are examples of obsolete, dialect, or obscure place-words which have given surnames. It will be noticed that they are mostly monosyllables of Anglo-Saxon origin, but they include a few Old French

[1] *Bove* is older than *above*.

words. Some are quite simple, but are mentioned because of their compounds. Others I am unable to explain. Quite a remarkable proportion are names given to small strips of land, boundary ridges, trenches, etc. They seem to reflect the proprietary tenacity of the Anglo-Saxon.

Bache, Batch, Bage. ME. *bache,* a river valley [Robert de la Bache, *Pat. R.*].

> "Over *baches* and hulles" (*Piers Plowm.* C. viii. 159).

It is common in Cheshire place-names. Compounds, *Greatbatch, Huntbach.*

Bale, Bayles. AF. *bail,* an outer fortification, later replaced by *bailey* [Tessaunda del Bayl, *Pat. R.*, John de la Baylle, *Lond. Wills,* 1258–1358]. Hence also the official *Bailward.*

Ball. A common field-name in Somerset [John atte Balle, *Kirby's Quest,* Som.]. The name has other and more usual origins. *Newball* is a corruption of *Newbold,* new building.

Barff, Bargh. Northern forms of *barrow,* a mound [Thomas atte Barghe, *Pat. R.*, Yorks].

Barth. Sheltered pasture for cattle or calves—

> "Warme *barth* give lams
> Good food to their dams" (Tusser).

Bay. A dam or pool. Hence the common Cambridgeshire name *Bays* [John atte Bey, *Hund. R.*, Camb.]. *Bay* is also a colour nickname [Robert le Bay, *Testa de Nev.*].

Bear, Beer, Bere. West-country word for wood, AS. *bearu* [Morin de la Bare, *Hund. R.*, Dev., Henry de

la Bear, *ib.*, Elias de la Byere, *ib.*]. Compounds *Langabeer, Conybeare, Shillibeer* and the deceptive *Shebear.* This is perhaps one origin of *Byers*; cf. the parallelism of *Bubear, Boobyer,* in Somerset, but in this group of names there has been confusion with *byre.*

Bent. Very numerous meanings in Middle English, ranging from bent grass to battle-field (see *NED.*). Also confused with *Bend* [Robert de la Bende, *Testa de Nev.*]. Compound *Broadbent.*

Binks. Northern form of Banks [John de Nighenbinkes, i.e. near banks, *F. of Y.*]. See *NED.* The intermediate form was " benks " [Robert Neynbenkes, *Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*].

Boak, Boakes. Northern form of *balk,* ridge, especially as a boundary [Thomas del Bouke, 1429]. *Boag* is probably a variant. From *balk* also come *Belk* and *Bilke* [Henry del Belk, *IpM.*, Norf.].

Boam. A common Derbyshire surname [John del Bom, *IpM.*, Notts, 1279–1321]. I suppose it to be a phonetic variant of *beam* (p. 184).

Boosey. A cattle-shed, byre.

Borstall, Burstall. A winding hill-path, especially on the Downs [John Atteborstalle, *Hund. R.*, Kent]. The example is just four centuries older than the first *NED.* record of the word.

Boss. A conduit, fountain [Bartholomew de la Bosse, *Close R.*].

" *Bosses* of water made at Belingsgate about the year 1423 " (Stow).

Breach. An opening, also fallow-land [Andrew de la Breche, *IpM.*].

Breeks, Brack. A northern dialect word, cognate

with above and also used of rocks [Robert del Brek, *Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33]. It is ON. *brekkr*, a brink.

Brend, Brent, Brind. Brow of a hill [Simon del Brend, *F. of Y.*, Richard del Brynd, *ib.*].

Brewill, Browell, Bruel. OF. *breuil*, wood, thicket [Simon del Bruill, *Chart R.*]. Part of Savernake Forest is called the "Broyl of Bedewind" in *IpM.*, and the Broyle (Suss.) has the same origin. Cf. Fr. *Dubreuil* and *de Broglie*, the latter of which has given us *Brolly*.

Brush. Broom, undergrowth, heather [Adam del Bruche, *Exch. R.*]. Cf. Fr. *Delabrousse, des Brosses*, etc. Hence also *Brushett* (see p. 128, *n.* 1).

"*Brusshe* to make brushes on, *bruyere*" (Palsg.).

Budden. This surname is sometimes of baptismal origin [Ermegard Budun, *Hund. R.*], from Baldwin or from one of the *Bod-* names; cf. Fr. *Bodin.* But it is also local, a variant of *bottom*, which occurs as *bodan* in one of the earliest Anglo-Saxon glossaries [Stephen de la Buden, *Pleas*, Hants]. It is still a Hampshire name.

Buggins. ME. *bugging*, a variant of *bigging*, a building.

"Cometh the maister budel brust ase a bore,
Seith he wole mi *bugging* bringe ful bare."
(*Song of the Husbandman*, temp. Ed. I.)

Buist. ON. *bustadr*, homestead, whence also the Orkney and Shetland *Isbister.*

Bumbey. A quagmire (Norf. and Suff.).

Burst. A break in the land, from AS. *geberst.* It is so used in the *Abingdon Chronicle* [Hamelet de la Burste, *Exch. Cal.*].

Butt. A ridge or balk in ploughed land. Also a

measure of land. But the surname *Butt* is often for *Buck*, altered in the same way as *bat* from *bakke* (see p. 24) [Roger le Buc *or* But, *Close R.*, Hugh le But, *Pat. R.*, James le But, *ib.*].

Cage. This may go with *Penn, Mewis* (p. 98), etc., or may be connected with a local prison—

"*Cage*, catasta" (*Prompt. Parv.*).
"*Catasta*, a cage to punish or sell bond men in" (Cooper).

In the *Coventry Mysteries* it is used of the "pageant" on which a king stands [John del Cages, *Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*].

Callow. Applied in the west to bare land [William de la Calewe, *IpM.*, Heref.], the same word as *callow*, hairless, unfledged, which is the more usual origin of the surname.

Cheyne. This is simply a Middle English spelling of "chain," probably meaning the barrier by which streets were often closed at night [Richard de Catena, *Close R.*]; cf. *Barr.*

"For other wey is fro the gatis none,
Of Dardanas, there opyn is the *cheyne*"
(Chauc. *Troilus and Criseyde*).

Chuck. A tree-stump, OF. *chouq*, apparently related to *souche*, a stump [Henry de Chokes, *Close R.*, Roger de la Zuche, *or* de la Suche *or* de la Chuche, *ib.*]. Hence *Choak, Chugg, Chucks.* Also a nickname [Robert Choc, *Pipe R.*, William Choc, *Hund. R.*]. Cf. *Block* (p. 156).

Clench, Clinch. I can find no clue to the meaning of this word, apparently the origin of Clinch in Wilts. [Richard de la Clenche, *Fine R.*, Wilts, John de la Clenche, *Hund. R.*, Wilts]. A stream called the Clenche is mentioned in *Glouc. Cart.*

Cloud. ME. *clude,* a rock [Robert atte Cloude, *Kirby's Quest*], the same word as *cloud* (cumulus). Hence also *Clout* and possibly *Clodd.*

Clyne. Old Welsh *clun, clyn,* a meadow [William ate Clyne, *Exch. R.*]. Also *Clunn.*

Cock. The very common entry "atte Cok" refers not only to a shop-sign, but also to the same word commonly used of a water conduit. Cf. *Boss.* Hence also sometimes *Acock, Adcock, Atcock* [Ralph Atecock, *Lond. Wills,* 1282].

Cockshott, Cockshoot. "A broad way or glade in a wood, through which woodcocks, etc., might dart or shoot, so as to be caught by nets stretched across the opening" (*NED.*).

"*Cockesshote* to take woodcockes with, *volee*" (Palsg.).

Cradle. A place in Sussex called "le Cradele" is mentioned in the *Percy Cartulary* [Richard atte Cradele, *Percy Cart.,* John de la Cradel, *Pat. R.*]. In Middle English, as now, the word was used of various arrangements in the way of framework or scaffolding, but its meaning here is very dubious. Perhaps the ending is the same as that of the next name.

Crundall, Crundle. More than sixty *crundels* are mentioned in Thorpe's *Codex Diplomaticus.* AS. *crundel* is dubiously explained by Sweet as a chalk-pit, cavity, pond. Its modern dialect meaning of a ravine with running water in it suggests rather "crooked dell," from the adjective which has given the nickname *Crum, Crump.*

Curtain. Dial. *courtain,* court-yard, straw-yard, Late Lat. *cortina.*

Deal, Dole. These are ultimately the same word,

meaning boundary, division [Alexander de la Dele, *Fine R.*, William de la Dole, *Hund. R.*]. *Dale* is often for *Deal.* The word is still in use in various forms. Here generally belong also *Dowell, Dowl, Dewell, Duell,* and the Kentish *dowel,* a marsh, is perhaps the same word. Most of the words for boundary appear also to have been applied to a piece of waste land between two cultivated patches—

"The waste called *le dole*" (*Pat. R.*, Salop).

Delf, Delph, Delves. ME. *delf,* quarry. [Hugh del Delf, *Cal. Gen.*]—

"And thei gaven that monei to the crafti men and masouns, for to bie stoonys hewid out of the *delves,* var. *quarreris*" [1]
(Wyc. 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 11).

Dibb. Usually bapt. for *Dibble,* i.e. Theobald (see p. 40), but also from dial. *dib,* a dip, or valley [John del Dybbe, *F. of Y.*, 1469].

Dillicar. A dialect name, in the lake country, for a small field. No doubt a compound of the very common *Carr, Kerr,* a fen, of Norse origin.

Doust. ? A Middle English variant of "dust" [John del Doustes, *Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33]. Cf. such names as *Chalk, Clay, Mudd.*

Drain, Drane. Obviously from the drain or channel [John atte Drene, *Kirby's Quest,* Som.], a word first recorded by the *NED.* for 1552. Cf. Simon Draneland [*Hund. R.*, Camb.]. The examples are from the two chief fen counties.

Dron. Dial. *trone,* a trench, a west-country word [Geoffrey Attedrone, *Glouc. Cart.*].

Dunt. I suppose this to be a phonetic variant of

[1] This is the origin of *Quarrier* [Nicholas del Quarere, *Pat. R.*].

dent, dint, meaning a hollow [William Attedunt, *Hund. R.,* Kent].

Ealand, Eland. A dial. form surviving from AS. *igland,* now corruptly written *island* under the influence of OF. *isle.*

Eaves. Used in Middle English for edge, especially in the compound "wood eaves," whence *Wouldhave.* In *Whiteaves* the first element is probably *with* (p. 84).

Fall. It is a little doubtful what this means as a surname [Richard del Fal, *Hund. R.,* Gilbert de la Falle, *Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285], at any rate in compounds. In *Horsfall, -fall* may be for an earlier *-fald,*[1] i.e. fold, enclosure, while in *Woodfall* it means the place where trees have been felled [Richard del Wodefal, *Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33]. Still, although the *NED.* has no record of *fall,* cascade, till 1579, "the water's fall" (Spenser), the name *Waterfall* [Richard de Watterfall, *Hund. R.*] points to a much earlier use of the word.

Fann. The winnowing fan [Gervase de la Fanne, *Chart R.*]. The west-country *Vann* is commoner [Richard atte Vann, *Pleas,* Wilts.]. Cf. the occupative *Fanner* and *Vanner.*

Farndell. The obsolete *farthingdeal,* or fourth part of an acre. Cf. *Halfacre.*

"*Farding deale,* alias *Farundell* of land, signifieth the fourth part of an acre" (Cowel).

Hence also *Fardell, Varndell. Farthing* was also used in the same sense.

Flatt. A common field-name in Yorkshire, and used

[1] The home of *Horsfall* is the West Riding, where it occurs side by side with *Horsfield.*

in Suffolk of a flat oozy shore [Thomas del Flat, mariner, *F. of Y.*]. Hence also the Suffolk name *Flatman*.

Force, Forse, Forss. This may be the northern *force*, a Scandinavian word for waterfall—

"The fishery del *fors*" (*Pat. R.*, Westm. 1320).

But the analogy of *Wilberforce*, from a place formerly called Wilberfoss, suggests that *Foss* is more often the origin. Cf. *Forsdyke* for *Fosdike*, later corrupted to *Frostick*.

Fostall, Forrestal. Dial. *fore-stall*, a paddock or way in front of a farmhouse (Kent and Suss.). The *NED.* quotes it for 1661, but it is much older [Osbert de la Forstalle, *Hund. R.*, Kent, Albreda de Forstallo, *Cust. Battle Abbey*, 1283–1312].

Foyle. Apparently some kind of excavation, Fr. *fouille* [John atte Foyle, *Cust. Battle Abbey*].

Fright. A Kentish form of *frith*, a wood, deer-forest, etc., so common in the phrase "frith and fell" [Henry del Fridh, *Feet of Fines*].

Gallantree. I only offer the conjecture that this Yorkshire name may be for "gallows tree," earlier "gallow tree," AS. *gealgtreow*; cf. Godfrey de Galowes (*Fine R.*), Ralph de Furcis (*Abingdon Chron.*).

Garston. An example of a common noun, AS. *gærstun*, paddock, "grass town" [Henry de la Garston, *Fine R.*], which has become a specific place-name. Cf. *Gratton*, stubble field, AS. *græd*, grass, *Barton*, AS. *beretun*, "barley town," *Leighton*, AS. *leactun*, "leek town," kitchen garden, and the ubiquitous *Burton*, AS. *burgtun*, "borough town." From the latter we have *Haliburton*, the holy dwelling.

Gort. OF. *gort,* properly a whirlpool (Lat. *gurges, gurgit-*), but used in England of a kind of weir ; cf. Fr. *Dugort.* See *gorce* (*NED.*), which is really a plural form and apparently one origin of *Joyce,* for Burton Joyce (Notts) takes its name from the de Jorz family.

Grape, Greep. A dial. word for trench, also found as *grip* [John atte Gripe, *IpM.*].

Ground. Used in dialect for a field or farm ; hence perhaps the East-Anglian name *Grounds.* But Roger Grond (*Hund. R.,* Hunts), Augustin Grund (*ib.*) suggest a shortened form of *Grundy,* AS. Gundred, as a more probable origin of the name.

Hallows. Possibly ME. *halwe,* shrine, sanctuary—

" Ferne *halwes,* kowthe in sondry londes " (Chauc. A. 14).

But more probably a dial. form of *hollow* [William in le Halowe, *Hund. R.*].

Hames. Northern form of " home " [Adam del Hames, of le Hames, Cumb., *IpM.*]. Also *Haimes.*

Hanger. A wood on a hillside [William del *or* atte Hanger, *Pat. R.*].

Hard. In the obsolete sense of hard or firm ground (sixteenth century, *NED.*), as at Portsmouth [Gilbert del Harde, *Pat. R.*]. Also *Hards.* In *Harder* the second element is *-or, -over,* a bank.

Haugh. This very puzzling word occurs in an immense number of place-names and consequently in many surnames, but nobody seems to know what it means.[1] It has several compounds, *Ridehalgh, Green-*

[1] " *Healh,* corner, hiding-place ; bay, gulf " (Sweet), " recess corner, hollow " (Miller). " Dr. Mutschmann is mistaken in thinking that the exact sense of OE. *healh* is ' very uncertain ' ; it means ' river meadow ' " (Sedgefield). " It does not necessarily mean a riverside pasture. A *hale,* in Gloucestershire, may occur on high ground away from any stream " (Baddeley).

halgh, Hesmondhalgh, Featherstonehaugh. Its dative gives *Heal, Hale,* and most of the names ending in *-all, -hall, -ell* contain it, e.g. *Brudenell* (at the broad heal), *Cleall* (clay), *Greenall, Greenhall, Blackall, Blackhall, Whitehall* [Gilbert del Whitehalgh, 1397, Bardsley], *Midgall* [Migehalgh, *Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33], *Thornell,*[1] etc. Related to it is ME. *halk,* a corner—

> "As yonge clerkes, that been lykerous
> To reden artes that been curious,
> Seken in every *halke* and every herne[2]
> Particular sciences for to lerne" (Chauc. F. 1119).

Hence *Halleck*[3] and sometimes *Hawke* and *Hawkes.* In *Halkett, Hallett,*[4] it is compounded with *-head* (see p. 128, *n.*). *Haugh* is quite distinct from *Hough* (*Huff*), *How,* a hill, though it has been confused with it, e.g. in *Wardhaugh,* probably for "ward hough," the beacon hill, equivalent to *Wardle* (ward hill) and *Wardlaw, Wardlow,* AS. *hlæw,* a hill, mound. *Ridehalgh* has been confused with *Redhough* [Thomas del Redhough, *Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*]. From the dial. form *eale,* we have the names *Eales, Eeles,* and it is probable that *Neale* is sometimes of the same origin (see p. 50).

Heald. ME. *hield,* a slope [Isabel de la Helde, *Fine R.*]. Cf. Ger. *Halde,* very common in place-names and surnames. *Heald* may be also for *Heal* with excrescent *-d*; cf. *Neild* for *Neil.*

Heath: This seems to have absorbed "hythe," a quay, harbour. The latter was once a very common

[1] In this, and some other cases, it may have interchanged with *-hill.*

[2] A corner; hence *Hearn, Hurn, Horn,* etc.

[3] Cf. Frisian *hallich,* low-lying land near the sea.

[4] Also a dim of Hal, or Harry.

name [Eustace de la Hythe, *Hund. R.*, William atte Hythe, *City F.*], but I find no modern examples.

Helm. Dial. *helm*, a shelter [John de la Helme, *Worc. Priory Reg.*]. But *Helm, Helms* is more often short for one of the personal names in *Helm-* (p. 38).

Herepath, Herapath. AS. *herepæth*, army path, main road. Cf. Ger. *Herwegh.* Is it too venturesome to derive the very common Cambridgeshire name *Thoday* from AS. *theodweg*, people way, highway? Both this and *Tudway* may be rather from the Anglo-Saxon name *Theodwig.* *Fossey* may be from Fr. *fossé*, a ditch, but is more probably from the historic Fosse-way.

Hoath, Hoad. An archaic word for heath[1] [John del Hoth, *Hund. R.*].

Honour, Honnor. "A seigniory of several manors held under one baron or lord paramount" (*NED.*) [Stephen Adhonour, *Pat. R.*].

Hook, Crook. Both used of a bend in the river [Richard de la Hoke, *Feet of Fines*, John del Crok, *Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33], the latter especially in Scotland. The first seems to have been used also of a sand-spit. But *Crook* is usually a nickname [Philip le Crok, *Pat. R.*, Croc the huntsman, *Chart. R.*], and *Hook* is sometimes, like *Hucks*, a form of Hugh [Huka de Thorne, *Pipe R.*].

Hope. Another word of very vague meaning, "an enclosure in marsh land," "small enclosed valley" (*NED.*). But there also seems to have been a measure of land called a *hope*, cognate with Ger. *Hube, Hufe,*

[1] I have only Halliwell's authority for this. Is it a mixed form due to the constant coupling of "holt and heath" in Middle English?

a unit corresponding in use, if not in dimensions, to our *Hide*. In a copy of White Kennett's *Glossary* which I possess, several examples of this use have been inserted in MS. by the learned antiquary Sir Edward Smirke. In compounds *-hope* becomes *-ap, -ip, -op, -up, Harrap, Burnip, Alsop, Greenup*. This rather common name has, however, another origin [Hugh le Hope, *Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285, Vital le Hope, *ib.*, William le Hope, *Archbp. Peckham's Let.*] which I cannot explain. No doubt also an abstract nickname (p. 218).

Horn. As a local name this is a variant of *Hearn*, a nook, corner. Hence *Langhorne, Hartshorn, Smallhorn, Whitehorn*, etc.; see p. 62, *n.* 2.

Hulk. A hut or shed [Agnes atte Holk, *Pat. R.*]—

> " Tugurium, *hulc* " (*Voc.*).

Idle. An Anglo-French form[1] of OF. *isle*, also *ilde* [John del Idle, *IpM.*, Christiana del Ilde, *Hund. R.*]—

> " *Ilde*, lond in the se, *insula* " (*Prompt. Parv.*)

Other island surnames are *Ilett*, appropriately found in Somerset and Cambridgeshire, and the Celtic *Inch, Ince, Ennis* [William del Enese, *Hund. R.*]. The form *Enys* is very common in Cornwall.

Ing. A Middle English name for meadow, especially a swampy one, and still in dial. use. It is from ON. *enge* [Thomas atte Enge, *Fine R.*, Reginald de Inga, *Pipe R.*]. This word is very common in composition and one source of the name *England*,[2] for *ing-land*. Names

[1] Cf. *meddle* from OF. *mesler*, and see *Madle* (p. 250).

[2] In spite of the existence of *English, Inglis*, the name *England* is rarely from the name of the country. *Deutsch* is a German

such as *Fielding*, *Fenning*, etc., have usually been explained as "man of the field, fen, etc.," but, although this tribal suffix occurs frequently in Anglo-Saxon place-names, it is perhaps equally probable that in surnames *-ing* means meadow, e.g. *Wilding*, wood meadow, *Greening*, *Beeching*, *Bowring* (bower), *Schooling* (cf. *Schofield*, *Schoolcraft*), *Ravening*, *Watering*, etc.

Knaggs. Northern dial. *knag*, rock, hill-top.

Knell, *Knill*. Apparently a phonetic variant of *knoll* [William atte Knell, *Cust. Battle Abbey*, John atte Knyle, *Kirby's Quest*, Som.]. Hence also *Kneel*.

Knipe. Ridge, a lake-country word, surviving only in specific place-names (*EDD.*).

Lart. A west-country word for "loft." Hencé also perhaps *Larter*.

Leach. Dial. *letch*, a boggy stream or a bog, earlier *lache* [John del Lache, *Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4]—

"Ductum aquæ, quem vulgo *Lacche* vocant" (*Abingdon Chron.*).

It is still used as *latch* in northern dialect. This is one origin of the name *Leach*, *Leech*, usually the physician.[1] Its compounds are *Blackledge*, *Bleakledge*, *Blackleach*—

"Between le Misies and *Blake-lache* unto the end of le Cawsaye" (*Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33)—

Cartledge, *Cartlick* [Robert de Cartelache, *Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4], *Depledge*.

name, but I do not think Deutschland is found, and the French surname *France*, not very common, is a shortened form of the baptismal François. *England* is also an imitative form of the Old French font-name Enguerrand, with the common change of *r* to *l* [John Ingelond, *Pat. R.*, Geoffrey Ingelond, *Hund. R.*, Simon Ingelond, *ib.*]

[1] I find that *Surgeon* still exists, also the lengthened Middle English form *Surgenor*.

Leese. Perhaps generally for "leas" (cf. *Meadows*); but there is a dial. *lease*,[1] pasture, AS. *læs*—

> "The years have gathered grayly
> Since I danced upon this *leaze*"
> (Hardy, *Wessex Poems*).

Lew. A sheltered spot [Alice ate Lewe, *Hund. R.*].

Liberty. I have already suggested (*Romance of Names*, p. 123) that this name comes from *liberty* in the sense of district outside the city walls, but subject to the city jurisdiction. I have, however, found no early example. I do not think it is an abstract nickname. The apparently parallel *Licence* is an imitative spelling of *Lysons*,[2] of Lison (Calvados), whence also *Lessons*.

Ling. This very common East Anglian name comes from the plant, and also specifically from Ling (Suff.), Lyng (Norf.), and Lyng (Som.), which accounts for the three regions which are the homes of the name. But the collocation of the word, in the following extract, with *sich*, a trench, and *put*, a pit, suggests some other local meaning—

> "Le Putsich, le Mucheleput, le Litleput, le *Ling* juxta Coppeswell, and le Longsyche versus Clayputtes" (*IpM.*, Warw. 1268).

Link, Lynch. A ridge, sand-hill, AS. *hlinc*. Dial. *linch* is especially used of an unploughed ridge making a boundary between two fields [Roger ate Lynche, *Fine R.*]. *Link* is possibly also a variant of *Ling* [John atte Lynk, *Pat. R.*, Norf.].

[1] See *NED.*

[2] Final *-s* in local surnames of foreign origin is treated as arbitrarily as in native names. We have *Gamage*, *Cammidge*, from Gamaches (Somme), *Cormell*, from Cormeilles (Eure), but *Lascelles*, from Lacelle (Orne).

Lippiatt. The leap-gate, or leap-yate, "a low gate in a fence, which can be leaped by deer, while keeping sheep from straying" (*NED.*). Also *Lipyeatt, Lippett.* Cf. the variants of *Lidgate,* swing-gate, whence *Lidgett, Lydiate, Liddiatt,* etc.

List. Used in Middle English in the sense of boundary [Peter de la Leste, *Hund. R.*]. Cf. the "lists" for a tournament.

Loakes. East Anglian *loke,* path, road [Gilbert Ithelockes, *Fine R.*].

Lone, Loane. Dial. form of lane [John in la Lone, *Glouc. Cart.*].

Loop. Used in Middle English of an opening in a wall, whence modern "loop-hole" [Edith de la Lupe, *Malmesbury Abbey Reg.*]. But this name, though not common, has an alternative origin, the wolf [Robert le Lupe, *IpM.*].

Lyth. A Middle English and dial. word for slope, AS. *hlith* [Reginald atte Lith, *Fine R.*]—

> "Steep pastures are called the *Lithe*" (White's *Selborne*).

But Gonnilda le Lyth (*Hund. R.*) points to a nickname, so that the surname, though rather rare, has two well-attested origins. For similar cases see pp. 316-19. *Lyde* is a variant.

Maw. A variant of *mow,* heap, as in "barley-mow." The name is very common in Lincolnshire, and medieval examples of "de la Mawe" abound on the east coast [William de la Mawe, *Hund. R.*, Suff.]. A local surname could, however, hardly come into existence in connection with such a transient thing as a haystack or cornrick, so that we must assume that the word is here used in the wider sense of mound,

hillock, or that it meant also the stackyard or barn. *Maw* is also a variant of *Maufe, Muff* (p. 246).

Meals. ON. *melr,* dune, sandhill, especially on the coasts of Lancashire and Norfolk [Alan del Mels, *Lanc. Inq.,* 1310–33, Elota del Meles, *ib.*]. I fancy that this word, often *meole* in Middle English, appears in *Ashmall, Ashmole,* and *Cattermole.*

Mears. Two local origins—(1) *mere,* a lake, pool, whence also *Marr, Marrs* [Robert de la Mar, *Lib. Vit.*] ; (2) ME. *mere, mear,* AS. *gemære,* a boundary, a very common word, also used of a green " balk " or boundary road. Hence in some cases *Marston,* ME. *merestone,* boundary stone. *Mark, March,* are also sometimes from ME. *mearc,* boundary, apparently not related to the above [Roger del March, *Fine R.,* Robert atte Mark, *City D.*].

Minster. The rarity of this name is surprising, although it is represented also by the lengthened *Minister.* As we have *Beemaster, Buckmaster, Kilmaster, Kilmister,* and *Kittermaster* from Beaminster, Buckminster, Kilminster, and Kidderminster respectively, it seems likely that *Master, Masters, Mister,* may also have been sometimes corrupted in the same way from the simple *Minster.*

Mountjoy. Montjoie is a common French placename [Ralph de Mungai, *Pipe R.*]. The name has no connection with the war-cry Montjoie, the origin of which is unknown. Also *Mungay, Munchay, Mingey—*

" *Mont-joye,* a barrow ; a little hill, or heap of stones, layed in or near a highway, for the better discerning thereof ; or in remembrance of some notable act performed, or accident befallen, in that place " (Cotg.).

Mudge. A Devon and Cornwall word for mud, swamp. The surname is common in both counties.

Ness. A headland, but not necessarily on the coast. Many of the examples I have found are inland [John atte Nesse, *Pat. R.*, Richard atte Nesse, *Coram Rege R.* 1297, Suss.]. The second example may refer to Dungeness. In the *Abingdon Chronicle* *ness* is used as equivalent to *stert.* See *Sturt.*

Pallant. AS. *palent,* palace, Lat. *palantium* for *palatium*; cf. the Palant at Chichester.

Pamment, Pament. Middle English form of *pavement,* street. In Nottingham are still High, Low and Middle Pavement, spelt *pament* in the Borough Records. Cf. *Cosway, Cawsey*—

"And whenne y was nygh the awter y put of my showys and knelyd on my kneys upon the *pament*" (Monk of Evesham).

Pett, Putt. Variants of *Pitt.* The first is a Kentish form; for the second cf. *Hull* for *Hill.* Compounds *Lampet, Lampitt, Lamputt,* loam pit, AS. *lampytt,* and *Clampitt,* cloam pit. *Cloam,* AS. *clam,* clay, is still used in dialect for earthenware. *Burpitt* is possibly for "bear pit"[1]; cf. *Bullpitt* or *Bowpitt,* and *Buckpit.*

Pickles. The Yorkshire dial. form of *pightle,* an enclosure (see *NED.*). Hence also *Pighills* and *Pightling,* the latter compounded with *ing,* a meadow (p. 64).

Pill. A west-country word for a creek [Robert Attepile, *Hund. R.*, Som., Bennett de la Pylle, *Fine R.*, Dev.]. Hence also *Pile, Pyle, Pillman,* and *Pilla-*

[1] *Bearblock* appears to mean the stump to which the bear was tied; but *Bearpark* is a perversion of the local *Beaurepaire.*

way with the intrusive *a* which is characteristic of Devon names (*Eastaway, Greenaway,* etc.).

Place, Plaice. ME. *place* has a wide range of meanings, including market square, plot of land, large house, hamlet, etc. But the modern name has absorbed an Old French word related to *Plessis* (p. 286), and meaning an enclosure [Richard de la Plesse, *Hund. R.*]. It is often entered as de Plexito. Cf. the Fr. *Dupleix,* which has assumed in England the imitative form *Duplex.* Hence also *Pleass.*

Plank. Used in Middle English of a narrow footbridge [James de la Plaunche, *Fine R.*]—

" *Planche,* a *planke,* or thicke board ; especially one thats laid over a ditch, brooke, or moate, etc., instead of a bridge " (Cotg.).

Plaskett. A swampy meadow, usually " plashet," dim. of OF. *plasq.* The surname represents a Norman form. Also *Plasked.*

Plott. The same as *Platt,* a flat piece of land [Henry de la Plot, *Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285].

Pluck. Apparently a phonetic variant of ME. *plecke,* a piece of ground [Nicholas de la Plock, *Glouc. Cart.*]. It is also found in *Duplock,* earlier Duplac (*Norf. Court R.*). But *Diplock* is more probably " deep lake."

Quick. Usually a nickname, but also a northern variant of *wick,* a village [Albert de la Quicke, *Lanc. Inq.* 1205–1307]. Cf. *Quarton* for *Wharton,* and *Quickfall* for *Wigfall,* the latter probably the " wick-fald," or *Wickfield.*

Rain. The name-group *Rain, Rayne, Raines, Raynes,* etc., has various origins. It may be baptismal, from the Anglo-Saxon element *Regen-* (p. 44), as in

Rayner, Reynold, etc. [Reine Bacun, *Hund. R.*], while the *-s* forms represent Rennes [Robert de Rennes, *Hund. R.*] and possibly also Rheims. It is also a nickname, perhaps from dial. Fr. *raine*, a frog [Robert le Rane, *Pat. R.*]. But the home of the name is Durham, and in that county *rain* is a dial. word for a strip of land, boundary, etc., which is no doubt the origin of most of the northern *Raynes*. The word is common in field-names in north-country records.

Rees.[1] This name, usually for Welsh Rhys, is also from an obsolete word for stream, channel [Henry del Re *or* atte Ree, *IpM.*, Heref.]. There are several references in *IpM.* to "la Ree" (Heref.), but the word seems to have been in general use. The church of St. Mary Overy was in 1502 Saint Mary "over the *re*." *Overy* and *Undery* are both existing surnames; with the latter cf. Walter Underwater (*Lanc. Inq.*). *Ree* may be related to *ride* (see p. 49) and *Rye* (Suss.),

[1] The majority of monosyllabic, and many dissyllabic, local names are commonly found with *-s*, originally due to analogy with *Wills*, *Jones*, etc., where *-s* is the sign of the genitive. It will be found that this addition of *-s* in local names generally takes place whenever it does not involve an extra syllable or any exertion in pronunciation, e.g. *Birks* but *Birch*, *Noakes* but *Nash*, *Marks* but *March*, *Meadows* but *Field*, *Sykes* but *Sich*. The only important exception to this phonetic rule is *Bridges*, which is usually derived, not from bridge, but from Bruges, once commonly called Bridges in English. This *-s* is also added to specific place-names, e.g. *Cheales* from Cheal (Linc.), *Tarbox* from Tarbock (Lanc.), *Burls* from some spot in Essex formerly called Berle [Robert de Berle, *Hund. R.*, Ess.], *Rhymes* from Ryme (Dors.), etc. This tendency, still very strongly marked in uneducated speech, leads to some very curious results. I am told that the Earl of Stair is commonly called Lord Stairs by the Wigtownshire peasants. Still more extraordinary is the existing name *Steadmances*, of obvious origin.

which was formerly la Rie [Geoffrey atte Rye, *City E.*, Robert Atterie, *IpM.*, Suss.]. The word is perhaps of Flemish origin; cf. the South African *Delarey*. The scarcity of *Ree* is due to absorption by *Ray* [Robert de la Reye, *Close R.*].

Rew, Rue. AF. *rew*, from Fr. *rue*, street [Robert atte Rewe, *Pat. R.*, Dors.]; cf. *Attru* (p. 49). But *Rew* is also a nickname, a variant of rough [Walter le Rewe, *Glouc. Cart.*].

Rhine. A name given to the large drains or channels on the Somerset moors, AS. *ryne*, a channel. It was the Bussex Rhine which proved fatal to Monmouth's followers at Sedgemoor. I have, however, no evidence for a surname thus formed, so *Rhine* is perhaps rather for *Rhind, Rind.* There is a Perthshire hamlet called Rhynd, but the surname seems to be rather from a Welsh personal name [Rind Seis,[1] *Chart. R.*].

Riddy. ME. *rithie*, apparently related to *ride*, a stream (p. 49) [Walter Atterithie, *Glouc. Cart.*].

Riding. Perhaps from one of the Yorkshire ridings,[2] but more probably a variant of *Ridding*, a clearing in a wood [Raven del Riding, *Pat. R.*].

Risk. An archaic form of *rush*, AS. *risc*; cf. *Rissbrook.* Hence also *Rix*, usually from Richard, but also from Exmoor *rix*, rushes [John de la Rixe, *Hund. R.*, Som.].

[1] I.e. Rind the Saxon; cf. *Sayce, Seys*, etc.

[2] Originally *thriding*, third part, the initial having been lost by confusion with the final sound of the north, east, west which always preceded it. We have the converse in the Middlesex village of Ickenham, formerly Tickenham. As time went on, people who lived "at Tickenham" found they were living "at Ickenham."

Roath. Apparently ME. *roth,* variant of *root* [William atte Rothe, *Lond. Wills,* 1305]. Or it may be identical with *Routh,* ON. *ruth,* a clearing, whence *-royd,* common in north-country surnames.

Rood. A cross. Also *Rude* [Walter de la Rude, *Fine R.*]. Hence also *Trood,* "atte rood." Compounds *Roodhouse, Roddis, Rodwell;* with the latter cf. *Crosswell.*

Rule. La Riole, near Bordeaux, latinized as Reula and Regula, is constantly mentioned in London records. It gave its name to a London street and to the church of St. Michael Paternoster "Royal" [Henry de la Rule, *City B.,* Alvyn de Reule, Henry de la Riole, *Exch. Cal.*]. In *Chesh. Chamb. Accts.* (1301–60) is mentioned Roger del Reulle, a shipmaster bringing wine from Bordeaux.

Sale, Seal. Related words, the first representing OF. *sale* (*salle*), the second AS. *sele,* hall, dwelling-house. Compounds are *Greensall* and *Normansell. Seal* has become *Zeal* in Somerset. These names have become confused with dial, *seal, sale,* a willow, whence the Yorkshire names *Sayle, Sayles* [Agnes del Sayles, 1379]. Cf. *Sallows, Salliss* from the same tree, AS. *sealh.*

Salterne. A salt house, also a salt marsh.

Seath, Seth. AS. *seath,* a pit, pond, used in dialect, generally in the form *sheath,* of a brine-pit. Hence also *Sheath* and *Sheat* [Humfrey de la Shethe, *Testa de Nev.*]. It should be noted, however, with regard to *Sheath,* that Fr. *Fourreau,* whence Eng. *Furrell,* seems to be a costume nickname from the sheath or scabbard.

Seed. I conjecture that this name, common in the

north, may represent AS. *geset*, seat, dwelling, as in Somer*set* and the surname *Honeysett*. It occurs also in *Adshead*, *Adsead* (Adsett, Glouc.), and in the simple *Sait*. This would explain *Liverseed*, *Loverseed*, from the personal name Leofhere; cf. John de Burysede [*Hund. R.*] and the Lincolnshire name *Whitseed*.

Selden, *Seldon*, *Seldom*. The dative plural of the very common ME. *selde*, a booth or shop [John atte Selde, *Lond. Wills.*, 1294].

"One fair building of stone called in record *Seldom*, a shed" (Stow).

Sell may sometimes represent the singular, but is usually baptismal [Nicholas Sell, *Pat. R.*], perhaps from Cecil.

Shear. AS. *scaru*, division. Hence *Landseer*, AS. *landscaru*, boundary [Anthony de la Lanscare, *Pat. R.*, Thomas de la Landshare, *Hund. R.*]. One example is from Devon, the other from Somerset. Hence this is the origin of the Devon name *Shears*, while *Sharland*, also a Devon name, may contain the same elements reversed. The form *Scare*, *Skeer* is also a surname. *Cheers* seems to be a variant [1] [Walter de la Chere, *Glouc. Cart.*] and *Chare* also exists. *Seear* may belong here or to *Sayer*, AS. Sægær.

Sheard, *Shard*. Middle English and dial. *sherd*, a gap in an enclosure or bank [John atte Sherde, *Pat. R.*]. The same word as in "potsherd." *Shirt* is an imitative spelling.

Shed. A section of land. The same word as in "watershed." Hence *Shead*, *Shedd*, *Shade*. No doubt

[1] The substitution of *Ch-* for *Sh-* is not uncommon, e.g. Nicholas Chepe, Ralph de Chepeye, Osbert le Chephirde occur together in the *Pat. R.* Hence *Cheap* is sometimes a nickname, "sheep."

also from the building, which is also *shad, shade* in dialect.

Shields, Scales. The English and Norse forms respectively for a shieling or shelter. The first is very common in Northumbrian farm-names, hence *Blackshields, Greenshields.* It is the same as ME. *schiel* [Adam del Schele, *Percy Cart.*], whence *Shiel.* From *Scales* we have the compounds *Summerscales* [1] and *Winterscale,* corrupted into *Summerskill, Summersgill, Wintersgill.* Related to the numerous Scandinavian names in *-skjöld,* such as *Nordenskjöld, Lilienskjöld,* etc.

Shippen, Skippon. A dial. word for cow-house, AS. *scipen* [Richard de la Schepene, *Coram Rege R.* 1297]. Hence also *Skippings*—

" Thropes, bernes, *shipnes,* dayeryes " (Chauc D. 871).

By folk-etymology connected with " sheep-pen," but really cognate with " shop." But in *Sheepwash, Shipwash, Shipway, Shipsides,* and most local names in *Ship-,* the first element is " sheep."

Shire. Used in the sense of boundary [Thomas atte Shyre, *Lond. Wills,* 1349]. Here belong also sometimes *Shear, Shears* (cf. *Lankshear, Hamshar*); but

[1] Various explanations are given as to local names in *Summer-, Winter-.* In Germany the corresponding names are considered to indicate a southern and northern aspect respectively. In the examples above we no doubt have the summer and winter camp of the herdsmen. Other examples are *Summerhayes,* from *hay,* an enclosure, *Winterford, Winterflood, Winterbottom. Winterburn* is a burn that runs in winter only. Another name, especially in Kent, for an intermittent spring is *nailbourn,* later *eylebourn,* whence the surname *Elborn* and probably *Eborn.* On this interesting work see Skeat, *Trans. Phil. Soc.,* 1911–14, p. 37.

Thomas Palle, called Sheres (Lond. 1376) suggests a nickname for a shearsmith or cutler. For the usual origin of *Shears* see p. 74. In compounds other than county names *-shire* is generally a corruption of *-shaw*; e.g. *Ormeshire* for Ormeshaw.

Sich. A trench, AS. *sic* [Robert de la Siche, *IpM.*], hence also *Sitch* and the Yorkshire *Sykes* [William Enlesik, *Pat. R.*, John del Sykes, *Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33]—

" *Sich, sichettum* and *sichettus*, a little current of water, that uses to be dry in the summer, also a water-furrow or gutter " (Cowel).

Slade. A valley, glade, strip of greensward [John o' the Slade, *City D.*], AS. *slæd*, valley, familiar in the phrase the " greenwood slade." Hence also *Slate, Sleath*, and the compound *Greenslade*.[1] This is another

[1] Our ancestors did not show much imagination in describing scenery, and *Green* occurs with monotonous frequency—*Greenacre, Greenall* (*heal*, p. 62), *Greenaway* (cf. *Eastaway, Westaway*, and other Devon names), *Greenberry* (bury), *Greenfield, Grenfell, Greengrass, Greenhalgh, Greenhall* (p. 62), *Greenhead, Greenhill, Greenhough, Greenhow* (*hough*, a hill), *Greenhorn* (*horn*, a nook corner, p. 64, but possibly a nickname), *Greenhouse* (cf. *Whitehouse*, but possibly the house on the green), *Greening* (p. 64), *Greenland* (ME. *laund*, a stretch of open country), *Greenist* (see p. 95), *Greenlaw* (*law*, a hill), *Greenlees, Greenop, Greenup* (p. 63), *Greenrod, Greenroyd, Grinrod* (*royd*, a clearing), *Greensall, Greensill* (see *Seal*, p. 73), *Greenshields* (p. 75), *Greenstock, Gristock* (*stoke*, a homestead), *Greensides* (p. 138), *Greenwell, Greenwood*, etc. In *F. of Y.* we find also Greenayk (oak), Greenbank, Greenbergh (*barrow*, hill), Greengare, Greengore (*gore*, a triangular piece of land), Greenshagh. But occasionally there has been confusion with the Anglo-Saxon name-element *Grim*. In Suffolk we find Grimweard becoming *Grimwood*, whence the transition to *Greenwood* was inevitable. The compromise *Greenward* is also found. Conversely the very common northern *Grimshaw*, apparently " Grim's shaw " or " Grim's haw " (enclosure) is generally a corruption of " green shaw," once as familiar as " green wood."

example of the elusive meaning of these dialect words. White Kennett defines it as a long, flat piece of land, while Wyclif actually uses it of a, presumably flat, ridge—

"Semeye gede bi the *slade*, var. *cop*, of the hil . . . and curside" (2 *Sam.* xvi. 13).

The *EDD.* offers a very wide choice of meanings: valley, hollow; grassy plain between hills; side or slope of a hill; small, often hanging, wood; strip of greensward through a wood; green road; piece of greensward in ploughed land; strip of boggy land; stagnant water in a marsh; small running stream; sheep-walk; bare, flat place on top of a hill.

Slape. Very puzzling. There is an early Scot. *slape*, a gap, breach, but the examples of de la Slape are all from the west, chiefly Somerset. Slope is quite a modern word according to the *NED.* Perhaps related to *slipe*, a long narrow strip, used in several counties, including Somerset. It also means the sloping bank of a dike or river; cf. *slype*, a covered way from the transept of a cathedral to the chapter-house.

Slay. Slope, lane through gorse, etc. (Suss.). Also *Slee* [Stephen atte Sle, *Close R.*, Kent]. Probably identical with *Slade* (q.v.); cf. *Smee* for *Smeed.* But the surname is usually from ME. *slegh*, sly, skilful.

Slipp. A long narrow slip (of land); see *Slape.*

Smeed, Smeeth, Smedes. ME. *smethe*, a level place [Simon de la Smethe, *Close R.*, Thomas atte Smyethe, *IpM.*]. See *Athersmith* (p. 50) and cf. *Smedley, Smidmore*—

"*Smeth* or smoth, *planicies*" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

Hence also *Smee* and *Smy*, dialect forms. All these are also nicknames from the same word used in the sense of smooth, hairless [Philip le Smethe, *Hund. R.*]. So also the compounds *Smeathman* and *Smithett* (smeeth head) may be local or nicknames.

Snaith, Snead. Specific place-names (Yorks and Worc.), but from AS. *snæd*, a piece of land, from *snithan*, to cut, cf. *Thwaite* from *thwitan*, to cut. Also *Snee.*

Snape. A spring in arable ground, Devon (Hall.). But the word is quite undocumented, though recorded as a surname in various parts of England [Henry de la Snape, *Hund. R.*, Suss., Adam del Snap, *Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33]. It appears also to have been used of winter pasture. Hence also *Snepp*. Compounds *Harsnip, Dewsnap, Dewsnip.*

Snodgrass. This name contains the dial. adjective *snod*, smooth, trim.

Splatt. AS. *splott*, plot of land [William atte Splotte, *Kirby's Quest*, Som.]—

> "*Landsplot*, tantillum terræ" (*Abingdon Chron.*).

Hence the compound *Collinssplatt.*

Spon, Spong, Spun. A long narrow strip of ground, also found as *spang*. Of doubtful origin, but probably Scandinavian [Liulf del Espaune, *Feet of Fines*, Linc.]. The dialect glossaries assign it to East Anglia.

Spring. A dial. word for wood, plantation [Robert ad Springe, *Ramsey Cart.*]. I know several "springs" in the woods of Bucks. Cf. *Goldspring.* Of course the name may be also from *spring* in its more usual sense [Adam de Fonte, *Worc. Priory Reg.*]; but it is rarely taken from the season. The Teutons divided the year

into *Summer* and *Winter*, hence the frequency of these words as surnames. Still, cf. Fr. *Printemps*.

Staite. ME. *stathe*, a landing-place, as in Bickersteth. Hence also *State*, *Staight*. And, as Bickersteth has given Bickerstaff, this local name may be one origin of *Staff*. *Stay* is a modern dial. variant (*EDD.*).

Staple. A post [Roger Atestaples, *City A.*]. Generally *Staples*.

Stent. A boundary, limit; probably OF. *estente*, extent.

Stile. AS. *stigol*, a stile, also an ascent. Hence *Styles* [Geoffrey atte Stile, *City F.*], *Still*, *Stillman*, *Stiggles* [Richard del Stigels, *Pat. R.*], *Steggall*, *Steggles*, and even *Steckles*, *Stickles* [Robert Atstychele, *Malmesbury Abbey Reg.*]. This group of names illustrates a phenomenon of some importance, viz. that surnames, and to some extent place-names, form exceptions to phonetic laws. The rigid phoneticians will say that the *-g-* of AS. *stigol* must disappear (cf. *sail* from *segl*). The answer is that when it becomes a surname, its development may be arrested and an archaic form may persist. The home of both *Styles* and *Stickles* is Kent [Robert atte Estyghele, *Hund. R.*, Kent], where they flourish abundantly side by side. The AS. Stigand should have become Stiant. It has done so and exists in the surnames *Styants*, *Styance*; but it also survives as *Stigand*, *Stiggants*, *Stiggins*, *Stickings*. Similarly AS. *fugol* became *fowl*, but has also given the surname *Fuggle* [Robert le Fugel, *Pipe R.*], and *Tickler* perhaps represents a sharpened form of "the principal rebel Walter Tighlar" (Stow). *Stoyle* may be for *Style*, as the local *Royle* is for *Ryle*, but a ship

called la Stoyle (*Pat. R.*) is obviously OF. *estoile*, star, and *Lestoile* is a common French surname.

Stitch, Styche. Dial. *stitch*, a ridge, a balk of grassland in an arable field [Richard Attestyche, *Pleas.*]. *Styche* is a good example of the effect on pronunciation of an archaic spelling.

Stoop. A dial. word for boundary post. Hence also *Stopes, Stopps* [William del Stopp, 1379, Bardsley].

"'No *stopes* or rails,' was the cry at the time of the Notts enclosures of 1825" (*EDD.*).

Studd. A variant of *Stead*, place, dwelling; cf. Richard del Pleystude (*Glouc. Cart.*), i.e. *Playsted*.

Sturt. AS. *steort*, tail, as in the bird-name *redstart*, used of a tongue of land [William de la Sturte, *Hund. R.*]. Hence also *Start*. Cf. Start Point.

"Boscus qui dicitur *stert*" (*Feet of Fines*).

Swale. As this is chiefly a Yorkshire name, we must assign it to the river (see p. 161, *n.*). But *swale* has also various dial. senses, a valley, a salt-water channel (between Kent and Sheppey), a pleasant shade, to one of which probably belongs Tedric atte Suele (*Pipe R.*). Hence also *Swell*.

Swire. ME. *swire*, neck. The surname *Swire* may be a nickname (cf. *Neck*, p. 135), but is also a dial. variant of *Squire*. In ME. *swire* was also *swere* and was evidently used of a "neck" of land. A "bottom" called "le Swere," "le Sweres," is mentioned in *Malmesbury Abbey Reg.* Hence *Swears*.

Tarn. A mountain lake. Hence *Tarnsitt*, tarn-side.

Tart. Fr. *tertre*, a mound, hillock [Emma sur le Tertre, *Leic. Bor. Rec.*].

Thake, Theak. An East Anglian word for thatch. I have found the name in Suffolk. Cf. the occupative names *Thacker, Theaker, Thackster.*

Thay, They. An existing, though rare, surname, which is amply recorded [Philip atte Thegh, *Cust. Battle Abbey,* John de la The, *Pat. R.*]—

" In la *Thegh* vi acræ grossi bosci " (*Cust. Battle Abbey*).

It seems to be identical with *Tye, Tey* (q.v.), which is latinized as *theia* in the *Pipe R.*

Torr. A west-country word for a rocky hill [Henry atte Torr, *Fine R.*, Dev., Robert de la Torre, *Coram Rege R.* 1297, Corn.]. Hence *Hayter, Haytor, Hector,* high tor, and *Grinter,* green tor [Hugh de Grenetorre, *Chanc. R.*, Dev.] *Pictor,* a Somerset name, probably contains the same element. *Torr* has another origin from OF. *tor,* a bull [Hamo le Tor, *Pat. R.*, Gilbert le Tor, *City A.*].

Trow. A Middle English and dial. form of " trough " [William atte Trowe, *Hund. R.*]—

" *Trow,* vessel, *alveus, alveolus* " (*Prompt. Parv.*).

This is also one origin of *Trew* [William Attetrewe de Bristow, *F. of Y.*]. The same word is used in the west of a small barge, in which sense it is still the sign of an inn at Jackfield (Salop). So the surname may belong to the same group as *Barge, Hoy,* etc. (p. 171).

Tuer. A narrow passage or alley [William de la Tuyere *or* de la Twyere, *Archbp. Romeyn's Reg.* 1286–96]. I am not sure whether *Twyer* still exists. *Tewer, Tuer* has an alternative origin, the *Tawyer,* or leather-dresser [Martin le Tawyer, *City E.*]—

" *Tewer* of skynnes, *candidarius* " (*Cath. Angl.*).

Tuffill, Tuffield, Tofield. Dial. *tuffold, twofold,* a small shed, "lean-to," pent-house, ME. *tofal,* also spelt *tuffall.* Cf. Nicholas de Apenticio (*Fine R.*)—

"*Tofal,* schudde, *appendix, appendicium*" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

Tuffill may, however, be equally well derived from Theophilus [Simon Theofill, *F. of Y.*].

Twiss, Twitchen, Twitchell, Twizel. I put these together because they are no doubt related. They all contain the idea of a fork or branch. *Twiss,* unrecorded by the dictionaries, unless it is the dial. *twitch,* a bend in the road, is probably the original of which the others are derivatives [Hugh del Twys, *Pat. R.*]. With excrescent *-t* it gives *Twist. Twitchen* is used in dialect of a narrow passage connecting two streets [Richard de la Twitchene, *Fine R.*]. Hence also *Twitching. Twizel, Twissell, Twitchell* are AS. *twisla,* fork of a stream, as in Entwistle (Lanc.), whence the corrupted surname *Anthistle. Birdwhistle* is an imitative spelling of *Birtwistle.* Elys Bridestwesil *or* Britwesil was almoner to John of Gaunt. The first element is probably "bird."

Tye. An extensive common pasture (Hall.). Also *Tey, Tee* [Hugh de la Tye, *Hund. R.*, Adam de la Teye, *Coram Rege. R.* 1297]. *Tighe* represents an archaic spelling.

Verge. Possibly in the sense of edge, boundary, but it may be OF. *verge,* rood, fourth part of an acre [Richard de la Verge, *Close R.*]. Also *Varge.*

Voce, Vose, Voice, Voase. Fr. *Vaux,* plural of *val,* a valley, but common also as a specific French place-name [John de Vaus, *Lib. Vit.*]. This element appears in a few English place-names, e.g. Rievaulx, whence

Revis, Rivis, and Jervaulx, one origin of *Jarvis.* With these cf. *Clarvis,* from Clairvaux [Albin de Clairvaux, *Ramsey Cart.*].

Vyse, Vize. Of Devizes, once commonly called "the Vyse" and latinized as *Divisæ* [Richard del Vise, *Exch. R.*].

Walne, Wawn. ME. *walm,* a well, spring.

Waud. Variant of *weald* or *wold* [Walter de la Waude, *Pat. R.*]. Hence also *Weld* and *Weale,* the final *-d* of the latter being lost as in *Wiles* [Stephen de la Wile, *Pat. R.*] from the related *Wild*—

"A franklin in the *wild* of Kent" (1 *Henry IV.* ii. 1).

The Weald of Sussex is also called the Wild. Hence the name *Wildish* [1] and the imitative *Wildash.*

Waylett, Waylat. AS. *weg-gelætu,* place where two or more roads meet [Cecily de la Weylete, *Chart. R.*]—

"Sche sat in the *weelot,* var. *place of two weyes,* that ledith to Tampna" (Wyc. *Gen.* xxxviii. 14).

Waythe, Wath, Wathes. ON. *vathr,* a ford, once fairly common as second element in place-names, but now usually replaced by *-with, -worth,* e.g. Langworth (Leic.) was Langwath in the thirteenth century. Similarly *-wade,* a ford, its native cognate, has interchanged with *-wood,* so that *Braidwood* may sometimes be identical in meaning with *Bradford* [Reginald de Braidewad, *Pipe R.*].

Wham, Whan. Possibly from AS. *hwamm,* a corner [William atte Whaune, *Cust. Battle Abbey*]. Cf. dial. *wham,* a morass.

[1] Cf. *Devenish,* from Devon, *Kentish,* etc.

Wish. A damp meadow, marsh, common in old Sussex field-names. Hence *Whish*, which may, however, be for *Hewish*, *Huish*, AS. *hiwisc*, a homestead—

"'Help yourself, Mr. *Whish*, and keep the bottle by you.'
'My friend's name is *Huish*, not *Whish*, sir,' said the captain."
(Stevenson and Osbourne, *The Ebbtide*.)

With. ON. *vithr*, wood, once common in place-names, e.g. *Asquith* (ash). It has interchanged with *wath* (q.v.), and, like that element, has paid tribute to *-worth*, e.g. *Askworth*, *Ashworth*.[1] Also *Wythe*.

Wong. A meadow, AS. *wang*. There are several "wongs" in old maps of Nottingham. Compound *Wetwan* [Thomas de Wetewange, *Archbp. Peckham's Let.* 1279–92]. Identical with ON. *vangr*, as in Stavanger—

"*Wong* of lond, *territorium*" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

Woodfine, *Woodfin.* A wood-heap, fairly common in Anglo-Saxon, now only surviving as a surname—

"Strues, *wudefine*" (*Voc.*).

Wroe. ME. *wra*, nook, corner [John in the Wro, *Pat. R.*]. It has usually become *Wray* [Thomas del Wray, *Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285], and has given a number of north-country names in *-wra*, *-wray*, *-ra*, *-ray*, *-ry*, etc., e.g. *Doowra* (dove), *Thackwray*, *Thackeray* (thatch), *Rothera* (ME. *rother*, cattle), *Cawthra*, *Cawthry*, *Whinray*, *Winnery*, etc. It has also contributed to *Rowe* and, indirectly, to *Rose*[2] [Simon ithe Rose, *Pat. R.*, Yorks]. Hence the Staffordshire name *Durose* for *del Wros*, and the Lincolnshire *Benrose*, *Bemrose*, *Bem-*

[1] In both of these the *-worth* is, of course, sometimes original.
[2] Cf. *Ruse* from *Rew* (p. 72).

roose, in which the first element in probably "bean." Here may belong the Yorkshire name *Ringrow*, *Ringrose*. *Wroe* may also sometimes be the second element of *Morrow*, as "le Murwra" (Cumb.) is mentioned in *IpM.*, and of *Woodrow*, *Witherow*, the latter having the Norse *with* (p. 84) for Eng. *wood*. With *Bithray* cf. *Bidlake*, etc. (p. 52).

There are some local surnames which are of obvious origin, but whose rarity makes them interesting. Such are *Cowmeadow*, *Farmmedows*, *Forresthill*, *Ozierbrook*, *Monument*, *Marthouse* [1] (market-house), *Groundwater*, *Bullwinkle*, the bull's corner (cf. *Bulpitt*), *Leapingwell*, evidently from some pool associated with the old ceremony of leaping the well—

"*Leaping the well*, going through a deep and noisome pool on Alnwick Moor, called the Freemen's Well, a *sine qua non* to the freedom of the borough" (Hall.).

I do not know whether the name of the famous Whig pamphleteer *Oldmixon* still survives. It is a compound of the dial. *mixen*, a dunghill—

"*Fumier*, a *mixen*, dunghill, heape of dung" (Cotg.).

[1] *Mart* is more probably short for Martin.

CHAPTER IV

THE CORRUPTION OF LOCAL SURNAMES

"'Where d'you live?' I demanded.
'Brugglesmith,' was the answer" (KIPLING).

THE connection of a surname with a specific place-name is often obscured by considerable difference of form and sound. Sometimes the surname preserves the contracted local pronunciation familiar only to the inhabitants of the district. Such are *Aram*, *Arum* (Averham, Notts), *Anster*[1] (Anstruther, Fife), *Littler* (Littleover, Derb.), *Wyndham* (Wymondham, Norf.), *Rowell* (Rothwell, Northants), *Startin* (Staverton, Northants), *Sneezum* (Snettisham, Norf.), *Bustin* (Brislington, Som.), *Badgery* (Badgeworthy, Glouc.), *Roster* (Wroxeter, Salop). These examples, taken at random, can be largely added to[2] by any reader according to the district with which he is acquainted. In the above cases the local distribution of the surnames confirms the origin indicated, e.g. I have found *Roster* only in Salop. So also *Finbow*, found in Lincolnshire as *Fenbough*, is now chiefly represented at Stowmarket (Suff.) within two miles of its birthplace (Finborough).

[1] Hence also, I suppose, *Ansterberry*, the borough of Anstruther.

[2] For instance, I have no doubt that the Devon name *Widgery* is from Widworthy in that county, while *Essery* is for *Axworthy*, the "ash homestead."

Often enough the surname has got back to the actual locality from which it was taken on the emigration of the ancestor, e.g. there are people called *Freshney* living at Friskney (Linc.). Sometimes such contractions are made from local names which have not become specific place-names, e.g. *Timblick* for *Timberlake*. The contracted pronunciation of local names in *Saint* is a familiar phenomenon.[1] Some interesting examples of French origin are *Cinnamond*, or *Sinnamon*, from Saint-Amant, *Cemery* from Saint-Mary, *Savigar* from Saint-Vigor [Thomas de Sancto Vigore,[2] *Fine R.*], and *Santler* from Saint-Helier [Roger de Seinteller, *Testa de Nev.*].

Sometimes the local pronunciation or later perversion appears to be simply eccentric, e.g. *Stuckey* (Stiffkey, Norf.), *Escreet* (Escrick, Yorks), *Orlebar* (Orlingbury, Northants). Occasionally the surname preserves an archaic form,[3] e.g. *Hockenhall* (Hucknall, Notts), *Keyhoe* (Kew, Surrey), *Staveley* (Staley Bridge, Chesh.), or represents a correct and natural development of a place-name which has become orthographically perverted, e.g. *Sapsworth* (Sawbridgeworth,[4] Herts). *Tyrwhitt* is the older form of Trewhitt (Northumb.), and *Trask* of Thirsk (Yorks). *Shrosbree* is evidently more phonetic than Shrewsbury, and *Linkin* is a fair attempt at Lincoln.

[1] Are *Smiles* and *Smirke* from St. Miles and St. Mark? To the latter we certainly owe *Seamark*.

[2] I can find nothing about this place or the name Vigor, whence our *Vigors*, *Vigers* [Ely Viger, *Fine R.*].

[3] Or even an obsolete name, e.g. some of the *Dunnetts* come from Launceston, the earlier name of which was Dunheved.

[4] Etymologically the "worth," or homestead, of Sebert, AS. Sæbeorht. Hence the surname *Sawbridge*.

As a rule, the further a local surname wanders from its home, the more it becomes distorted. Perhaps no name of this class has a greater number of forms than *Birkenshaw*, birch wood, also spelt *Berkenshaw, Burkenshaw, Burkinshear, Bircumshaw*. With the common change [1] of *t* for *k* it becomes *Bertenshaw, Birtenshaw, Burtonshaw*, and even *Buttonshaw*. Metathesis gives *Briggenshaw* (cf. *Brickett* for *Birkett* or *Birkhead*), *Bruckshaw*, and finally *Brokenshire*. There are probably many other variants. The substitution of *-shire* for *-shaw* is also seen in *Blackshire* and *Kirbyshire* (kirk bye shaw), while we have the opposite change in *Wilshaw*. Both are unoriginal in *Scrimshaw, Skrimshire*, the "skirmisher," or fencing master. *Shire* itself has many variants, which are, however, easily recognized, e.g. *Lankshear, Willsher, Hamshar*, etc., and *Upcher*, from Upshire (Ess.). A phonetic change which is rather the opposite of the usual tendency is the change of *shaw* to *shall* in *Backshall, Upshall, Ringshall*.

Other examples of the corruption of north-country names are *Barraclough*, from a spot near Clitheroe, which becomes *Barrowcliff* in Notts and reaches London as *Berrycloth* and *Berecloth* (cf. *Faircloth for Fairclough*); *Carruthers*, a Dumfries village, which gives *Carrodus, Crothers, Cruddas*, etc. in the north of England, and in the south sometimes *Crowdace*; *Blenkarne* (Cumb.), whence *Blenkiron, Blenkin, Blinkhorn*; *Birchenough* (*hough*, a hill), found in East Anglia as *Bicheno, Beechner*; and of course the *-thwaite* names, e.g. *Branwhite* (Branthwaite, Cumb.), *Michaelwaite*

[1] Cf. *Kirtland* for *Kirkland*, a common north-country place-name.

(Micklethwaite), *Posselwhite* (Postlethwaite), *Musselwhite*, *Kibblewhite*, and even *Whitewhite*. Frequently *-wood* has been substituted in the south for this uncouth ending, e.g. *Thistlethwaite* is the original form of *Thistlewood*, for the first means the clearing or open land where thistles grow and the second makes no sense. The simple *Thwaite* appears also as *Twaite*, *Twite*,[1] *Dwight*, *Thoyts*.

Occasionally the perversion of a local surname is due to the imitative instinct, e.g. *Strawbridge*, *Strowbridge* for Stourbridge (Worc.), but many names which look as though they belonged to this class, e.g. *Barnacle*, *Clown*, *Hartshorn*,[2] *Stirrup*,[3] (Styrrup, Notts), *Unthank*, *Winfarthing*, are genuine place-names recorded in the Gazetteer. A very slight change of spelling is often rather disconcerting, e.g. *Wincer* (Windsor), *Farnorth* (Farnworth), and occasionally we

[1] Cf. Crostwight (Norf.), "cross thwaite." There is, however, a dial. *twite*, meaning a kind of linnet.

[2] Here the suffix is *horn*, a nook of land (p. 64); cf. *Hearne*, *Hurn*, etc. But some of the *-horn* names are probably also nicknames. Such are *Greenhorn*, *Langhorn*, *Rouhorn* (rough), *Whitehorn* [Mark Wythorn, *Hund. R.*]. In the medieval play of *Cain and Abel* (Towneley Mysteries) Cain's seven horses are Greynehorne, Whitehorne, Gryme, Mall, Morell, Stott, and Lemyng, every one of which is now a surname. *Leeming* [William Leming, *Hund. R.*] is the present participle of the obsolete *leam*, to shine—

"*Radieux*, radiant, shining, glittering, blazing, flaring, *leaming*, full of beames" (Cotg.).

[3] In the year 1280 occurs the name of Richard Stirrappe (*Archbp. Wickwane's Reg.*), the form of the entry, and the agreement of the spelling with the Middle English form of *stirrup*, suggesting a nickname. But it is merely an early instance of a wrong entry. Richard was a Notts man, and the Archbishop's clerk, unacquainted with the little Notts hamlet, took the local name for a nickname and omitted the *de*, a good example of the care that has to be exercised in drawing conclusions from old records.

come across alterations of the most violent kind, such as *Vickerstaff*, a well-established Lancashire surname, which apparently belongs to *Bickerstaffe*.

In fact, local surnames are, when once they stray from their habitat, most subject of all to corruption. The immigrant possessed of a baptismal or occupative name would generally find it accepted in his new surroundings without much change, and, if his nickname were unfamiliar, he would soon be provided with a new one; but the man who tried to teach his new Midland or East Anglian neighbours the name of the Northumbrian village by which he had hitherto been known, would be very much in the position of the medieval Baskerville or Blondeville, whose descendants have now become, not only *Baskwell* and *Bloomfield*, but even *Pesterfield* and *Blunderfield*. The existence of a well-known town serves in some cases to normalize the spelling of a common surname. We do not, for instance, find many variants of *York* or *Sheffield*, but a place-name which has failed to develop into a specific settlement is especially subject to variation. In Lancashire documents there are several references to Gosfordsich [Walter de Gosefordsiche, *Lanc. Inq.*], i.e. the "sich" (see p. 76) by the "goose ford," a name which now exists as *Gorstidge, Gostige, Gossage, Gostick, Gorsuch*.

The suffix portion of local names varies in bewildering fashion. We find *-wood, -worth, -with* (Norse for -wood), *-wade*, a ford, *-thwaite*, constantly interchanging, not only with each other, but also with the *-ward* of Anglo-Saxon personal names and with the adverbial *-ward*. Thus the common names *Norwood, Southwood, Eastwood, Westwood* are sometimes for names in *-ward*

[Robert a Westward *or* de la West, *Hund. R.*]. In fact *-wood* in surnames is generally to be regarded with caution, e.g. *Stallwood* is simply a perversion of the nickname "stalworth" or "stalwart." On the other hand, *Homeward* is an alteration of *Homewood*, for *Holmwood*, ME. *holm*, a holly.

Yate, i.e. *gate*, is well disguised in *Boyeatt* (*bow*, an arch, town gate), *Ditcheatt*, *Rowatt* [Robert de la Rougate, *Hund. R.*], *Windeatt* (*wynd*, an alley), *Whiddett*, *Widdeatt* (Woodgate[1]); *Burnyeatt* has in Scottish the special meaning of small watercourse. *Gate* itself, whether meaning gate or street, is not at once recognised in *Norkett* (north gate), *Forget*, *Forkett* (fore gate), *Claggitt*, *Cleggett* (clay gate), *Foskett* (foss gate), *Poskitt* (Postgate), *Sloggett*, *Sluggett* (slough gate). To these may be added *Felgate*, for field gate [Robert de Fildegate, *Pat. R.*] and *Falgate*, *Folgate*, for fall gate [Peter de le Falgate, *Hund. R.*], the latter meaning a gate across a high-road.

We have a large number of surnames in *-fitt*, which may represent *-field*, *-foot*, or *-ford*, e.g. *Morfitt*, *Murfitt* (moor field or moor foot?), *Belfitt* (Belfield or Belford?), *Breffitt* (brae foot), *Brumfitt* (Broomfield), *Rumfitt* (Romford), *Welfitt* (Welford). So also we find *Kerfoot* for Kerfield (Peebles), *Playfoot* for Playford (Suff.), *Fifoot* for Fifield (see p. 128, *n.* 3), *Linfoot* for Linford, etc.

One of the most interesting cases of suffix change is the confusion between *-cock* and *-cote*, *-cott*, a confusion that we find already in the Rolls. *Grewcock*, *Growcock*, *Groocock*, *Grocott*, *Groucutt*, *Growcott* all spring from

[1] *Whiddett* may also be for *Woodhead*. In fact this group is easily confused with that of local names in *-head* (p. 128, *n.* i.). There is not much difference between *Ditchett* and *Ditcheatt*.

an original of the same type as the nicknames *Peacock, Woodcock,* and represent ME. *grew-cok,* from Fr. *grue,* a crane [Henry Grucok, *Cal. Gen.,* Gerard la Grue, *Fine R.*]. On the other hand, *Ellicock, Elcock,* possibly dims. of Ellis, may also be for *Ellicott,* from Elcot (Berks), formerly Ellecotte (*Chart. R.*). The derivation of this name is, however, complicated by the existence of Elacota la Regrateresse (*City B.*) and William Alicot (*Pat. R.*), the latter of whom may also be responsible for some of the apparently local *Alcotts, Aucutts,* etc. To get back to firmer ground, the Oxfordshire name *Didcock* is certainly from Didcot (Berks), *Slocock* is for "slough cote," *Woolcock* for Woolcott (Som.), and *Bulcock* for Bulcott (Notts). Even *Peacock* is sometimes an alteration of the common Fr. *Picot* [Nicholas Pikot *or* Pyekoc, *City A.*]. *Chilcock* is for Chilcote, and Peter de la Polecok (*Testa de Nev.*) should be "pool cot," while Robert Balkoc *or* Barkoc *or* Balkot (*Cal. Gen.*) shows how early the two endings were confused. *Moorcock,* which might be identical with *Murcott* (moor cote), is certified as a nickname by Martin Morkoc (*Testa de Nev.*) and by the existence of *Morehen. Heathcock* is also a nickname [Walter Hathecok, *Hund. R.*]. Among genuine compounds of *-cote* the most interesting is *Caldecote,* with a very large number of variants, such as *Coldicott, Goldicott, Calcott, Cawcutt,* and *Corkitt*! Cf. with these Adam de Caldesete (*Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*); see *Seed* (p. 73).

Another deceptive ending is *-acre,* a field, as in *Hardacre, Hardaker, Hardicker.* Its compounds are less simple than they look, e.g. *Oldacre,* sometimes equivalent to *Oldfield,* represents more often the ME. *alder car,* a "car," or marshy waste, overgrown with

alders. This is of frequent occurrence in Middle English, and is still used in dialect in the form *owdaker*.

"*Aleyr keyr*, alnetum" (*Prompt. Parv.*).
"All the londs, merys, marysses, *alderkars*" (Will, 1484).

With *Oldacre* cf. *Oldershaw*, the "alder shaw," and the still earlier form in *Ollerhead, Ollerenshaw* [John del Holerinchawe, 1332], and *Lightollers*,[1] *Lightowler*. *Whittaker*, which represents not only "white acre" (cf. *Whitfield*), but also "wheat acre" and "wet acre," is also sometimes a *-car* name [Adam de Whitekar, *Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4]. *Fouracre, Foweraker* looks simple enough, but may very well come from the dialect *foreacre*, headland of a ploughed field, whence certainly *Farraker*. The well-known Lancashire name *Stirzaker, Sturzaker*, less commonly *Steriker*, is a genuine *-acre* name, the first element being ME. *steor*, a steer, bull. In *Dunnaker* the first element may be *dun*, a hill, or *dun*, brown. *Waddicar, Waddicker* are from a spot in Lancashire formerly known as Wedacre. In *Waraker* the first element is Domesday *wara*,[2] an outlying portion of a manor. This is further corrupted into *Walliker* and *Warwicker*, the latter of which has been assimilated to Warwick by imitative spelling. *Halfacre* was used in Middle English for any small piece of ground; cf. *Halfhide* (p. 128, *n.* 3). Part of Brentford High Street is still called the Halfacre. *Ranacre, Ranigar, Runacres* seem to represent the Anglo-Saxon name Ræfengar, raven spear.

[1] Cf. with this Lightbirkes, a Northumberland shieling mentioned in the *Fine R.*

[2] On this important word see Round's *Feudal England* (p. 115).

Among names compounded from trees the oak easily takes first place. Most villages have, or at any rate had, before the devastating effects of enlightenment were really felt, an old oak, gallows oak, haunted oak, or some other oak out of the common. In compounds the word often becomes *-ack, -ick, -ock, -uck*, and in some of the following examples the identification is more or less conjectural. *Whiteoak, Whittock, Whittick*, and *Greenoak* [Thomas de Greneayk, *F. of Y.*] are simple cases, also *Shurrock, Shorrock, Sharrocks*, [Herbert de Schirhoc, *Fine R.*]—

"*Shire oak*, an oak tree marking the boundary of a shire or a meeting-place for a shire court" (*NED.*).

Holyoak, Hollyoak may represent both the "holly" or "holm" oak, i.e. the evergreen oak, and the "holy oak" or "gospel oak" at the parish boundary where the procession stopped for the reading of the gospel when "beating the bounds"—

"Dearest, bury me
Under that *holy oke*, or gospel tree"
(Herrick, *To Anthea*).

Coppock, Coppack may be for "copped," i.e. polled, oak, for the earliest example of the word "cop" in the *NED.* is "coppede ac." *Bantock, Bantick* is for "bent oak"; cf. Adam del Crokedaik (*IpM.*), *Crummock, Cromack*, crump, i.e. crooked, oak, and *Cammack*, from dial. *cam*, crooked. But the last three names may be dims. of *crum* and *cam* used as nicknames. In *Brideoke, Briddock*, the first element is probably ME. *brid*, bird, while *Triphook, Trippick* may be for

"thorp[1] oak" (v.i.). There is also the classical example of *Snook, Snooks,* from Sevenoaks, not necessarily always the place in Kent so called, for a spot called the "seven oaks" is mentioned in the *Abingdon Chronicle.* The intermediate *Sinnocks* also survives, and I find that John Hardyng, of Senock, Kent, was indicted for horse stealing in 1551. *Snake* is probably the same name. In *Buckoke* we have the name of some famous trysting oak of medieval hunters.

Another word that assumes very numerous variant forms when used as a suffix is *-thorp,*[2] e.g. *Hilldrop, Guntrip, Westrope, Redrup, Gilstrap, Winthrop,* etc. *Whatrup,* which looks as though it belonged to the same class, is an illiterate alteration of *Wardrop* [Thomas de la Wardrobe, *Hund. R.*]. *Hurst,* a wood, is slightly disguised in *Fairest, Greenist, Everest.* The last name, of reposeful appearance, belongs almost exclusively to Kent [Tenentes de Everherst, *Hund. R.,* Kent]. The prefix is AS. *eofor,* a boar, common as first element in place-names. *Wich,* a dwelling, as in Norwich, has, as a suffix, often assumed the deceptive form *-age,* e.g. Swanage (Dors.) is Swanewic in the AS. *Chronicle.* Similarly *Colledge* represents Colwich (Staff.), and *Stoneage, Woodage, Middleage, Winterage,* which suggest epochs of civilization and of human life, also contain the ending *-wich.* Curiously enough, from the alternative *-wick* we get the equally deceptive *Middleweek,* while *Nunweek* is of course Nunwick (Northumb.).

[1] Browning has "The glowing *triphook,* thumbscrews and the gadge" (*Soul's Tragedy,* i. 332), but two out of the three instruments are ghost-words.

[2] See examples in Baddeley's *Gloucestershire Place-Names* (p. x).

But hardly any suffix is so well represented as the simple word *house*. We have from it many quite obvious compounds, e.g. *Newhouse* and *Whitehouse*, and others whose survival is interesting, such as *Alehouse*,[1] *Barkhouse*, i.e. tan-house, *Duckhouse*, *Dyhouse*, *Porthouse* (gate-house), *Sainthouse*, *Seedhouse*, *Taphouse*, *Woolhouse*, together with the somewhat disguised *Felthouse* (field). *Childerhouse*, though not in the *NED.*, presumably means orphanage [John de la Chyldrehus, *Chart. R.*]; cf. *Children* [John Attechildren, *Pat. R.*] and Fr. *Auxenfants* (p. 280). The well-known Suffolk *Aldhouse* is generally an imitative form of a personal name Aldus, well recorded in the Rolls [Nicholas f. Aldus, *Close R.*, Aldus Waveloc, *Hund. R.*]; it is also found as *Aldus*, *Aldous*, *Aldis*, *Awdas*, etc.

But often *-house* as a suffix is changed into *-ows*, *-ers*, or *-as*, *-ess*, *-is*, *-os*, *-us*, e.g. *Bellows*, *Churchers*, *Dyas*, *Portess*,[2] *Burdis*, *Stannus*, *Stannas*, *Stannis*, all obvious except *Burdis* (*Burdas*, *Burdus*), which may be for "bird-house," or for Bordeaux. *Bellows* has a variant *Billows*, and *Windows*[3] is probably for *Windus*, i.e. wynd-house. *Meadows* is sometimes for "mead house," whence also *Meadus*. Other examples in *-ers* are *Duckers* and *Drakers*, *Smithers*, *Smeathers* (see *Smeeth*, p. 77), *Salters*, *Charters* (charter-house), *Stathers* (ME. *stathe*, landing-place), *Parkers*, *Jewers*,[4] *Childers*

[1] The two bearers of this name in the *Lond. Dir.* (1843) are both publicans.

[2] This may be for *Porteous* (p. 156), but it is quite possible that the latter name is sometimes altered from *Porthouse*.

[3] Cf., however, the French name *Lafenestre*.

[4] Cf. the Jew-house at Lincoln, said to be the oldest inhabited building in England.

(for *Childerhouse*, v.s.), *Hillers*, *Boggers*, *Suthers*. We have something similar to these forms in *Janders*, which actually represents the heroic Chandos [Robert de Jaundos, *Lib. R.*].

Examples of the other endings are *Dyas*, *Hallas*, *Hollas* or *Wholehouse*, for "hole house," *Dallas* (dale), *Beddis*, *Biddis*, from AS. *bedhus*, chapel, the origin of the common Welsh place-name Bettws and, sometimes, of the name *Beddoes* [John del Bettis, *Nott. Bor. Rec.*]. With *Bullas* [Simon de la Bulehouse, *Fine R.*] cf. *Ramus* and *Coultas*, *Cowtas*, *Coultish*. *Brockis* is for *Brookhouse*, *Nunniss* for *Nunhouse*, *Roddis* for "royd-house," from the northern *royd*, clearing, or for "rood-house." *Charteris* is for Charterhouse, an imitative corruption of Chartreuse. For *Millhouse* we have *Mellers*, *Mellis* [Richard de Mellus, *Chart. R.*], and even *Millist*, the latter with an excrescent *-t* as in *Middlemist* for *Middlemiss* (Michaelmas); cf. *Bonus*, *Bonest*, for "bone-house," i.e. charnel-house. I am not sure whether *Porterhouse* still exists, but *Pendrous*, *Pendriss* is for "pender-house," the *Pender* being the same as the *Pinder* or *Pounder*. *Malthus*, *Brewis*,[1] *Cottis*, *Loftus*, *Lowas*, *Lowis*, *Newis* are obvious. With *Boggis* cf. *Finnis* [William del Fenhus, *Hund. R.*, Suff.], and *Carus*, *Carass*, *Caress*, from *car*, a marsh (see p. 93). *Harkus* is for "hawk-house," as *Harker* is for *Hawker*. *Fawcus*, *Falkous*, suggest early shortened forms of *Falconas*, but are more probably variants of the personal names *Fawkes* (*falco*), as *-us* for *-es* is common in some Middle English

[1] Possibly also one of the many variants of *Bruce*; Alan del Breuhous (*Pat. R.*) confirms the first derivation, but John de Brewouse (*Close R.*) might be for either.

texts. With *Falconas* goes *Mewis*, from "mew," in its original sense of a cage for hawks.[1]

Wortos contains the archaic "wort," vegetable. In *Pettus* we have the Kentish *Pett*, for *Pitt*. With *Crannis* [Richard de Cranehous, *Pat. R.*] cf. *Duckers*. *Barkis* was an East Anglian name long before Dickens [Alfred de Barkhus, *Pat. R.*, Suff.]. *Barrass* may be for "bar house," the house at the entrance to a town (cf. *Gatus*), or from the obsolete *barrace*, a barrier or outwork of a fortress, whence the French name *Barras*. *Baylas* is for "bail-house" (see *Bale*, p. 53), and the very common *Bayliss* must also sometimes belong here. *Burrus* is "bower-house" and *Burrows* may sometimes have the same origin. *Dayus* is still used in dialect for a dairy (see *Day*, p. 233), and Adam del Cheshus (*Hund. R.*) suggests that *Buttress* may sometimes represent "butter-house." The Lincolnshire *Govis* is perhaps connected with the dial. verb to *gove* or *goave*, i.e. to store corn in a barn, whence the occupative *Gover*, *Govier*. *Copus* [Thomas del Cophous, *Fine R.*] may be the house on the "cop," or hill, or the house with the pointed roof, like the "copped hall" of the City which still survives in Copthall Buildings. Names of the type here dealt with are especially common in the north and the Roll of the Freemen of York has many early examples of them. The above list is far from complete. *Circus* perhaps belongs to the same group, though I can suggest no origin for it. *Lewtas* is probably connected with AS. *hleow*, shelter (see *Lew*). Wyclif has the inverted *houselewth*. *Dwerryhouse*, formerly also Dwarryhouse, means "dwarf house"—

"No *dwery* is but lyke a gyaunt longe" (Lidgate).

[1] On the origin of our "mews" see my *Romance of Words*, p. 120.

The compounds of *-land* [1] offer no phonetic difficulty, but include some names of antiquarian interest, and others of deceptive aspect. *Olland*, old land, is still used in Norfolk and Suffolk for land that has lain some time fallow. *Buckland* [2] is etymologically "book land," i.e. land held by written charter. *Headland* is not necessarily a cape—

"*Headland*, that which is ploughed overthwart at the ends of the other lands" (Worlidge, *Dict. Rust.* 1681).

The Scottish term is *Headrigg* (ridge). *Frankland*, AS. Francland, was used in ME. for France. *Eastland* was applied specifically to the Baltic countries [Eremon de Estland, *Hund. R.*, Godeschalke de Estlaund, *ib.*], and *Norland*, *Westland*, *Southland* may also refer to large geographical areas. *Britland* once meant Wales. The Devon name *Yalland*, *Yelland*, *Yolland* contains the adj. *yald*, a West Saxon form of *old* [John de la Yaldelonde, *Hund. R.*, Dev.]. *Markland* was originally a division of land of the annual value of a mark. The surname has an alternative origin from *mark*, a boundary. In *Trueland* the adjective has the archaic sense of good, suitable, genuine. Cf. *Truefitt*, where the suffix is probably field (p. 91). Both *Freeland* and *Goodland* are sometimes personal names [Hugh Freeland, *Hund. R.*, Hugh Godland, *ib.*]. They would be AS. Frithuland or Freoland, and Godland, names which are not given

[1] But it should be remembered that the ending *-land* often represents ME. *laund*, open country, F. *lande*, a moor.

[2] Like all place-names in *Buck-*, it may also have to do with either bucks or beech trees.

by Searle, although the elements of which they consist are copiously attested. Other *-land* names corrupted from personal names are *Checkland*, for *Checklin*, a variant of *Jacklin* [Ranulf Jaklin, *Pat. R.*], *Joseland*, for Jocelyn [Joselan de Nevill, *Yorks Fines*, temp. John], and *Candeland* [Kandelan de Slyne, *Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285], more usually *Candlin*, from Gandelyn.

Many apparent compounds of *-way* are from AS. personal names in *-wig* (p. 37). Genuine local compounds are *Birkway* (birch), *Buckaway* (AS. *boc*, beech), *Salway*, *Selway* [1] (AS. *sealh*, willow), *Rodaway* (road), *Narraway*, etc. *Carroway* is probably for *Garroway*, from Garway (Heref.). *Faraway* is from Farway (Dev.), with the *-a-* which is characteristic of Devon names (see *Greenaway*, p. 76, *n.*). The Dorset *Samways* was formerly (1517) Samwise, which seems to point clearly to AS. *samwis*,[2] dull-witted, lit. half wise. *Jennerway* is one of the many variants of *Janways*, the Genoese. *Jackways* shows the the old dissyllabic pronunciation of Jacques—

> "The melancholy *Ja-ques* grieves at that"
> (*As You Like It*, ii. 1).

Spurway seems to be a phrase-name, the native equivalent of *Pickavance* (p. 268), and I should assign a like origin to *Harkaway*, though the *NED.* has no early record of the phrase. Cf. *Rumbelow*, no doubt a nick-

[1] This even is dubious. It may be AS. Selewig [Richard Salewy, *Worc. Priory Reg.*].

[2] This *sam* still survives in the perverted "sand-blind" and some dialect expressions.

name for a sailor. Stephen Romylowe was Constable of Nottingham Castle in 1355—

> " Your maryners shall synge arowe
> Hey how and *rumby lowe* "
> (*Squire of Low Degree*).

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CHAPTER V

SOME OCCUPATIVE SURNAMES

"Sitôt entré, le premier moutardier salua d'un air galant et se dirigea vers le haut perron où le Pape l'attendait pour lui remettre les insignes de son grade : la cuiller de buis jaune et l'habit de safran" (ALPHONSE DAUDET).

BESIDES the large number of occupative surnames of obvious meaning (*Draper, Fuller, Singer,* etc.) and those which, though a little more difficult to trace (*Cordner, Latimer, Pilcher,* etc.), have a well-documented history and have not got far from dictionary forms, there are a good many names of somewhat rare occurrence or of deceptive appearance, of which I propose to give here a selection. Many of them present no difficulty, but their survival seems interesting. First it must be noted that many surnames in *-er,* suggesting an occupation or a habit, do not belong to this class at all. Some of them are Anglo-Saxon personal names, e.g. *Asker, Asher, Asser,* AS. Æschere, *Fricker,* AS. Frithugar, *Hollier, Hullyer,* AS. Holdgar [William f. Holdegar, *Pipe R.*], *Ringer,*[1] AS. Regengar [Richard Reynger, *Chart. R.*]. *Diver* and *Ducker* are no doubt nicknames, both words being used of various kinds of diving birds,

[1] Possibly also for *Bellringer,* or even for "wringer" [John le Wringer, *Fine R.*]; but *Ringer* is still a font-name in Norfolk.

while the two surnames are found especially in the fen-country. *Diver* has been a Cambridge name since 1273 [Gunnilda Divere, *Hund. R.*, Camb.], while *Ducker* is common in Lincolnshire. Cf. William Plungun (*Nott. Bor. Rec.*) and Fr. *Leplongeon*—

"*Plongeon*, the water-fowle called a *ducker*" (Cotg.).

Duckering, also a Lincolnshire name, is local, the "ing" frequented by "duckers"; cf. *Ravening* (p. 64). *Dipper*, which looks as if it belonged to the same class as *Diver* and *Ducker*, is local, of Ypres [John de Ipre, *Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285]. *Diaper*[1] is a variant. The same place has given the Scotch name *Wiper*, *Wypers*, and the medieval Ypre, locally "Wipers," Tower of Rye reminds us of the connection between the Cinque Ports and Flanders. Thus history repeats itself.[2]

Many names in *-er* are from specific place-names, e.g. *Docker* (Lanc.), *Hever* (Kent), *Laver* (Ess.), and

[1] The old etymologists also derived, though wrongly, the material called *diaper* from Ypres.

[2] A chapter could be written on war-maps and surnames. If we follow to-day (Feb. 28, 1916), as the great struggle for Verdun is proceeding, the sketch-map in the *Times* from Nieuport to that fortress, we see to the immediate east and west of the allied line, as we go through the country of the *Flemings*, *Pickards*, *Champneys*, *Lorings*, and *Burgoynes*, the original homes of the families of *Bethune*, *Lyle*, *Dowey*, *Aris*, *Amyas*, *Cambrey* (*Kembery*, *Gambray*), *Noon* (Noyon), *Sessions* (Soissons), *Reames*, *Challen*, *Vardon*, to note the chief places only. Armentières ought to be represented, for it is very common in the Rolls, and John Darmentiers was sheriff of London in 1300. All the above are amply attested and there are many variants. A little farther south the famous salient of Saint-Mihiel reminds us of the popular form of Michael, which has given us *Mighill*, *Myhill*, *Miall*, and is the chief source of *Miles*. With the intermediate *Miggles* cf. Span. Miguel.

others represent the local or vulgar pronunciation, which is very fond of substituting *-er* for a more distinctive ending. Such are *Laidler* (Laidlaw), *Powner* (Pownall), *Pepler* (Peplow), *Scotter* (Scottow), *Crafer* (Crayford), *Stanner* (Stanhoe), *Snusher* (Snowshill), *Bearder* (Beardall [1]), *Priestner* (Priestnall [1]), *Hensher* (Henshaw), *Brister* (Bristow, i.e. Bristol)—

> "Nunk! did ever I tell thee o' my *Brister* trip,
> Ta zee Purnce Albert an' the gurt irn ship?"
> (*John's Account of his Trip to Bristol*, 1843).

With this cf. *Brisker* for Briscoe. All the above place-names also exist as surnames in their more correct form.

So also *Mesher* is for *Measure*, which, in its turn, is Fr. *masure*, a hovel, tumble-down dwelling; cf. Fr. *Desmasures*. The Yorkshire name *Creaser*, *Creazer* appears to be for *cress-over*, where *over*, which regularly becomes *-er* in compounds,[2] is an archaic word for bank [John de la Cressovere, *Close R.*]. *Stopper* is a variant of *Stopher*, for Christopher, *Mailer* is the Welsh name *Meyler* [Mayelor Seysenek, i.e. the Sassenach, *Exch. Cal.*], or, as a Scotch surname, means a payer of rent, and *Hinder* is the comparative of *hind*, courteous, a later form of ME. *hend*—

> "As *hinde* as an hogge
> And kinde as any dogge"
> (Skeltonica).

Cf. such names as *Elder*, *Richer*, *Younger*, and even *Better* (p. 323).

[1] Neither name is in the Gazetteer. They represent small spots in *-heal* (p. 62), probably the "priest's heal" and the "bird heal."
[2] As in *Greener* from *green-over*.

The multiplicity of occupative names is largely due to the infinite differentiation of functions in the Middle Ages. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the names derived from domestic office. We even find the name *Household*, with which we may compare Fr. *Ménage*. In a fifteenth-century Courtesy Book[1] we find precise directions as to the duties of each *Sarvant*, viz. the *Marshall, Groom, Usher, Steward, Panter, Ewer, Sewer, Cook, Squire, Yeoman, Amner, Carver, Waiter, Gentleman, Page, Porter, Butler*; and several of these *genera* were further subdivided into species. Other names of the same type are *Chamberlain* and *Seneschal*, the latter also corrupted to *Senskell* and *Sensicall*. The *Storer, Storrar* [John the Storiere, *Pat. R.*] was also the convent treasurer. And there were, of course, a number of assistants to each of the dignitaries mentioned above, e.g. the *Cook* had the help of the *Sculler, Squiller, Skiller* [John le Squiller, *City E.*] in the " squillery " or scullery, and of the *Skeemer* [Richard le Skymere, *Cal. Gen.*] and *Baster* in the more delicate processes of his art. A more responsible office was that of the *Guster*, or taster [Robert le Gustur, *Fine R.*]. *Jester* is also a surname, but the ancestor was not necessarily a buffoon—

> " Of alle maner of mynstrales,
> And *gestiours* that tellen tales "
> (Chaucer, *House of Fame*, iii. 107).

In many cases the official bore the name of his realm, e.g. *Chambers* appears as de la Chambre,[2] so that

[1] " A generall Rule to teche every man that is willynge for to lerne to serve a lorde or mayster in every thyng to his plesure " (ed. Chambers, E.E.T.S. 1914).

[2] Cf. Roger atte Bedde, king's yeoman (*Close R.*).

corresponding to the above names we find not only the obvious *Kitchen* and the rather uncommon *Drawbridge*, but also many less simple names. The *Marshalsea* [1] was originally a court which had jurisdiction over the royal household; the name is also found as *Marshallsay*. With the *Usher, Husher*, is connected *Hush*, Fr. *huis*, a door, and also *Lush* [Thomas de le Uisse, *Hund. R.*] and *Lusher* [Geoffrey le Ussher *or* Lussher, *Lib. Cust. Lond.*]. *Witcher, Whitcher* are variants of the same name [Richard le Wicher, *Feet of Fines*]. The *Panter*, now sometimes *Panther*, has also given the name *Pantrey* [John de la Paneterye, *Pleas*], while *Lewry, Lury*, from the office of *Ewer*, even survives as the fuller *Delhuary*. Cf. also *Lewer* and *Lower* [Robert Lewer *or* le Ewer, *IpM.*]. *Spence*, from the "dispense," or store-room, is also found as *Expence* [Ralph de Expensa, *Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*]. With *Cook* is connected John de la Cusyn (*City F.*), possibly now represented by *Cushion, Cushing*, which run parallel in Norfolk. With the *Amner*, or almoner, goes *Ambery, Ambrey*. This might be from the archaic and dialect *aumbry*, a cupboard, store-room, Fr. *armoire*, but it is also a corruption of "almonry"—

"The almonry (of Westminster), now corruptly called the *Ambry*" (Stow).

The *Butler's* domain was the "butlery," whence *Buttery* [William de la Botelrie, *Yorks Knights' Fees*, 1303]. Even *Nursery* exists as a surname.

There are many other names which come from the various offices of great households and monasteries.

[1] Perhaps no surname of the occupative class has so wide a range of meanings as *Marshall*. See *NED.*

Spittle, i.e. hospital, is also found as *Ashpital*. *Farmery* is for infirmary [Robert de la Fermerie, *Pat. R.*]—

"*Fermory*, infirmarium, infirmatorium" (*Cath. Angl.*).

The *misericord*, "an apartment in a monastery in which certain relaxations of the rule were permitted" (*NED.*), has given the contracted *Mascord* [John de la Misericorde, 14th century]. *Frater*, which looks like the latinization[1] of "brother," is Middle English for the monastery refectory [Thomas del Freytour, *F. of Y.*]—

"*ffreytowr*, refectorium" (*Prompt. Parv.*).—

or the name may be for ME. *fraterer*, the superintendent of the *frater* [Walter le Freytur, *Glouc. Cart.*]. *Saxty*, *Sexty* are for sacristy (cf. *sexton* for *sacristan*) and *Vester*, *Vesty* are both related to the vestry, or robing-room [John del Vestiarie, *IpM.*]. The first represents the French form *vestiaire*, while in the second the *-r-* has been lost, as in *Laundy* for *Laundry* (p. 108) and *Dunphie* for *Dumphrey* (p. 39). *Herbage* is OF. *herberge*, hostel, shelter, and a similar origin must sometimes be assigned to *Harbour*, *Arber* [William le Herberere, *Lond. Wills*, 1318–9]. The Herber, or Cold-harbour, was at one time the mansion of Sir John Poultney, near Dowgate—

"A great old house called the *Erber*" (Stow).

Wimpress is "winepress." For *Fann*, *Vann*, the winnowing-fan, see p. 59—

'*Van*, a *vanne*,[2] or winnowing sive" (Cotg.).

[1] *Pater* is a variant of Peter, *Mater* of *Mather*, mower.

[2] This is not always a result, as in *Vowler*, for Fowler, of west-country pronunciation. *Fan* is Anglo-Saxon from Lat. *vannus*, while *van* is the same word though French. Cf. William le Fannere *or* Vannere (*Lond. Wills*, 1292–3).

Other names connected with the subdivision of labour are *Furnace, Furness,* corruptly *Furnish, Varnish, Darey* [Alan de la Dayerie, *Pat. R.*], and *Landry, Laundry* [Robert de la Lavendrye, *Fine R.*]. But the last, though not common, has an alternative origin from the French personal name Landry, OG. Landrich [William Landri *or* Laundry, *Fine R.*]. Another uncommon name with a double origin similar to that of *Frater* is *Parlour* [Ralph le Parlour, *Fine R.*, Henry le Parlour *or* del Parlur, *Cal. Gen.*]. The parlour was originally the conversation and interview room at a monastery. *Gennery*,[1] *Ginnery* are from the "enginery," some kind of workshop. The *NED.* has the word first for 1605, in the sense of the art of constructing military engines, but William del Enginnerie (*Close R.*, temp. Hen. III.) shows that its popular form was in use more than three centuries earlier. Among the many forms of *Jenner*, the engineer, is *Genower*. *Chevery* is OF. *chevrerie*, goat-fold, and John *Chivery*, if the name is genuine, was of like descent. Of the same type is *Bargery*, from Fr. *bergerie*, a sheep-fold. I suppose that *Gallery* may be from an official whose duties lay in that part of the mansion, while *Roof* may have been the sentinel on the tower. Bardsley explains this name as a variant of the Norse Rolf, but Bartholomew del Rof (*Pat. R.*), the common Fr. *Dutoit*, and the Du. *Vanderdecken* point to an alternative origin. Still more limited is *Carnell, Crennell*, AF. *quernel*, F. *créneau*, a battlement [William de la Karnayle *or* Kernel, *Ramsey Cart.*]. And it is probable that *Garrett* owes something to OF. *garite*, a watch-tower, turret,

[1] *January* may be an imitative alteration of this, or from OF. *genevroi*, a juniper thicket [Roland de la Genveray, *Close R.*].

which is also the oldest meaning of our *garret*; cf. *Soller* [John del Soler, *Pat. R.*], still used in dial. of a loft or upper room—

> " *Sollere*, a loft, *garnier* " (Palsg.).
> " Thei wenten up in to the *soler* " (Wyc. *Acts*, i. 13).

Postans is derived from the postern gate [John de la Posterne, *Testa de Nev.*].

Some of the above names may be simply due to the accident of locality rather than to occupation. This applies still more to the following, which I put here because they approach the others in character. *Frary* is Middle English for a brotherhood, or *Friary*. *Chantry*, *Chantrey* is from residence near a *chantry*, an endowment or endowed chapel with the function of praying for the soul of the benefactor. Chaucer's Poure Persoun of a Toun looked after his flock—

> " He sette not his his benefice to hyre
> And leet his sheepe encombred in the myre,
> And ran to Londoun, unto Seint Poules,
> To seken hym a *chaunterie* for soules "
> (Prol. 510).

It has absorbed the domestic *chandry*, or *chandelry*, the candle-store [John of the Chandry, *John of Gaunt's Reg.* 1372–6]. *Charnell* meant both a mortuary chapel and a cemetery [Alice de Cimiterio, *Malmesbury Abbey Reg.*]. *Mossendew* is the ME. *measondue*, synonymous with hospital—

> " *Maison Dieu*, an hospitall, or spittle, for the poore " (Cotg.).

Lower suggests that *Domesday*, *Dumsday* may be the same name latinized, *domus dei*, but, in default of evidence, it is perhaps safer to regard it as a pageant nickname (ch. x.), from some representation of the

Day of Judgment. *Maudling* may also derive from a religious institution [Nicholas atte Maudeleyne, *Pat. R.*]. *Monnery* is OF. *moinerie*, a monastery, and I imagine that *Mendary*, found in the same county, is an altered form. *Tabernacle* was used in Middle English, not only in connection with the Jews, but also of a canopied structure, niche, etc., and in dial. for a woodman's hut. *Monument*, *Monement* probably record residence near some elaborate tomb, the oldest meaning of the word in English. *Checker*, *Chequer*, is official, of the exchequer [Ralph del Escheker, *Fine R.*, Roger de la Checker, *Hund. R.*], and I conjecture that *Tolputt* may be for tolbooth, now associated only with Edinburgh, but a common word in Middle English—

"A pupplican, Levy bi name, sittynge at the *tolbothe*" (Wyc. *Luke*, v. 27).

A few uncommon surnames have an official origin. *Fitchell* itself [William le Fychele, *Hund. R.*] is the natural popular form of "official" [Nicholas le Official,[1] *Pat. R.*]. *Brevetor* meant a bearer of "brevets,"[2] i.e. official documents, especially Papal indulgences—

"Brevigerulus, anglice *a brevytour*" (*Voc.*).

Every antiquarian dictionary of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contains the mysterious word *spigurnel*, a sealer of writs, on the origin of which the *NED.* throws no light. "It is evident that the word had no real currency in English, and its appearance is due to Camden and Holland, copied by Phillips, Blount,

[1] Cf. Fr. *Lofficiaux* (Bottin).

[2] Hence perhaps the Staffordshire name *Brevitt*; cf. *Porteous* (p. 156). But it may be rather for the local *Breffitt*, brae foot (p. 91).

Harris, Bailey, etc." (*NED.*). It is, however, of such frequent occurrence in the Rolls [Edmund le Spigornel, *Fine R.*, Nicholas Spigurnel, *Hund. R.*, Henry Lespigurnel, *Doc. Ill.*, Henry Spigornel, *City C.*], that it is surprising that it is not better represented as a surname. It exists as *Spickernell, Spicknell, Pickernell.*[1] To the official class belong also *Regester* and *Macer*—

"*Macere*, or he that beryth a mace, *septiger*" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

The oldest meaning of *Sizer*, i.e. "assizer," is a "sworn recognitor" (*NED.*), and I imagine that a *Vizer* or *Vizor* [John le Visur, *Hund. R.*] had to do with "revising." *Gawler, Gowler* [Geoffrey le Gooler, *Pleas*], besides meaning usurer—

"*Goulare*, or usurare, *usurarius, fenerator*" (*Prompt. Parv.*)—

may also come from the same word, *gaveller, gawler*, applied to a mining official in the Forest of Dean. *Alner* is the name of the official more usually called "alnager," from Fr. *aune*, an ell, who attested the measurement and quality of cloth.

Some rather rare occupative surnames are due to the fact that in Middle English there were generally two words, English and French, for each of the commoner callings. The native *Flesher* has almost disappeared, absorbed by *Fletcher* and superseded by the French *Butcher*. The native *Baker* has generally prevailed over both *Bullinger* (also found as *Pullinger, Pillinger*) and *Pester*[2] [John le Pestur, *City A.*]. So *Peacher, Petcher* [John le Pechur, *Pat. R.*], *Paster* [Henry le Pastur, *Hund. R.*], *Scotcher*, OF. *escorcheur*, make a very poor show against Fisher, Shepherd,

[1] Cf. *Pink* for *Spink*, chaffinch.

[2] The Latin form *Pistor* also survives.

Skinner. The latter is sometimes represented by *Flear*, for flayer. *Sotcher* is the natural result of OF. and ME. *soudiour*, a soldier—

> " *Sodioure*, miles, bellator " (*Manip. Voc.*).

Flecker, *Flicker* [Simon le Fleckere, *Northumb. Ass. R.* 1279] are variants of Fletcher, the arrow-maker, and *Shermer*, *Shurmer*, *Skirmer*, *Skurmer*, etc., represent the obsolete *scrimer*, fencer, sword-player [William le Schirmere, *Pat. R.*]—

> " The *scrimers* of their nation,
> He swore, had neither motion, guard, nor eye,
> If you opposed them " (*Hamlet*, iv. 7).

More common is the extended *Scrimygeour*, with a great number of variants, *Scriminger*, *Scrimger*, etc. (see also p. 88). *Guyer*, *Gyer*, *Gwyer*, is OF. *guieor*, guide [Henry le Gyur, *Chart. R.*]—

> "Conscience, that kepere was and *gyoure*" (*Piers Plowm.* B. xx. 71).

It is also found as *Wyer*, *Wire*, from an Old French dial. form. *Carker*, *Charker*, are Anglo-French equivalents of *Carrier*, *Charrier*, formed from *cark*, *chark*, a burden (*charge*).

Many names of deceptive appearance can be solved by the study of old records. Bardsley guesses *Punter* to mean the man in charge of a punt. But Ralph le Punter, custos pontis de Stanes (*Close R.*), shows that he was a *Bridgman* [1] or *Bridger*, less commonly *Brickmaster*.[2] *Rower* also savours of the water-side, but a

[1] *Punt* is of course equivalent to *Bridge* [Roger del Punt, *Pat. R.*].

[2] For " brig-master." Cf. *Brick*, *Brickstock* for Brigstock, and *Bricker* for Bridger. But most names in *Brick-* probably contain " birk," e.g. *Brickdale*, *Brickett*, *Brickland*, *Brickwood*, etc. The last may, however, very well be an alteration of the ME. *briggeward*, just as *Haywood* is often for the official *Hayward*.

record (*City C.*) of a payment made by the Corporation of London to Dionisia la Rowere for wheels makes it clear that she was of the same craft as Robert Rotarius, i.e. Wheeler (*Chart. R.*). The rare name *Setter* is wisely explained by Lower as "probably some handicraft." Later writers have assumed, I know not on what grounds, that a setter was one who put on arrow-heads. The *NED.* gives several meanings for the occupative *setter*, but the only one old enough for surname purposes is "*setter* of mes, *prepositor*" (15th century). It knows nothing about arrow-heads. In *City E.* I find that John Heyroun, "settere," and William le Settere were called in as experts to value an embroidered cope, hardly the work of an arrowsmith. This confirms a suspicion I had previously had that this *Setter* may represent OF. *saieteur*, a maker of *sayete*, a kind of silk.

Some rare surnames connected with hunting are *Varder*, the verderer [William le Verder, *Exch. R.*], *Berner*, OF. *brenier*, the keeper of the hounds [John le Berner, *Close R.*], and the synonymous *Brackner* [Gilbert le Braconer, *ib.*], which in modern French (*braconnier*) has come to mean poacher. Related to the latter is *Bracher*, from ME. *brach*, a hound, though there has no doubt been some confusion between this and the names *Brazier* and *Bracer*, the latter of which means brewer, Fr. *brasseur*. *Juster*, *Jewster*, is evidently the jouster [Thomas le Justur, *Fine R.*], and *Punyer* is from OF. *pugneour*, *poignour*, a champion—

> "De Sarraguce Carles guarnist les turs,
> Mil chevalers i laissat puignëurs"
> (*Chanson de Roland*, 3676).

In the *Lib. R.* we find William le Poignur *or* Pugnear

or Punner de la Galee, apparently a formidable mariner. *Ferler, Furler,* is OF. *fourrelier,* a *Sheather*—

" *Fourrelier,* a scabberd maker " (Cotg.).

Stamer is OF. *estamier* [John le Stamer, *Fine R.*], now replaced by *étameur*—

" *Estamier,* a tynner, tynne-man ; pewterer " (Cotg.).

Fulloon, from Fr. *foulon,* a fuller [Thomas le Fulun, *Pat. R.*], is an example of the small group of French occupative names in *-on.* The above examples, to which many more could be added, show that medieval England was bilingual to an extent which has hardly been realized.

Among occupative surnames derived from archaic or obsolete words, whether French or English, may be mentioned *Biller,* a maker of bills or axes [Hugh le Biller, *Fine R.*], *Fower,* a sweeper, scavenger [Roger le Fower, *Hund. R.*]—

" *flewar,* or clensar, *mundator, emundator, purgator* " (*Prompt. Parv.*)—

Kittler, kettle-maker, *Alefounder,* inspector of ale, still found in Suffolk, *Flather,* a maker of *flathes, or flawns,*[1] *Theaker,* a northern variant of *Thacker,* thatcher,[2] *Crapper,* similarly a variant of *Cropper,* which the *NED.* defines as " one who crops," *Meader,* a mower, whence *Grasmeder, Bester,* a herdsman [John le Bestere, *Hund. R.*, Hunts[3]], *Keeler,* a bargeman,

[1] There is also a surname *Flawn* ; cf. *Cake, Wastell, Cracknell,* etc.

[2] Cf. *Whattler,* from AS. *watol,* hurdle, also used of thatch.

[3] It is still found in that county. For its deceptive appearance cf *Bestman* (p. 237).

still used in the north of a manager of coal-barges and colliers, *Marler*, a worker in a marl-pit [John le Marler, *Pat. R.*], *Retter*, a common Devon surname, perhaps from ME. *retten*, to rate, reckon—

"*Rette* not the innocent blood in the myddil of the puple Israel" (Wyc. *Deut.* xxi. 8)—

Counter, a keeper of accounts, treasurer—

"A shirreve hadde he been, and a *countour*,
Was nowher such a worthy vavasour"
(Chauc. A. 359)—

Dyter, an "inditer," or scribe—

"The *dyteris*, var. *endyters*, *scribis*, of the kyng" (Wyc. *Esther*, viii. 9)—

Render, *Rinder*, the renderer [John le Render, *Archbp. Wickwane's Reg.* 1279–84], the exact meaning of which cannot be decided, *Shutler*, *Shittler*,[1] and *Spindler*, makers of shuttles and spindles respectively, *Styer*, a horseman, rider—

"Bite the feet of an hors, that the *stiere* thereof falle bacward" (Wyc. *Gen.* xlix. 17)—

Stickler, an umpire, *Heckler*,[2] a dresser of hemp or flax, *Cosier*, a cobbler, *Ollier*, an oil merchant [Reginald le Oyler, *Leic. Bor. Rec.*], *Sarter*, an "assarter," or clearer of forest land, and many more. Some names of this class, e.g. *Faggeter*, *Basketter*, *Trumpeter*, *Preacher*, *Teacher*, *Minstrell*, *Pronger*, *Organer*, *Outlaw*,

[1] For this form see p. 130, *n*. Similarly a *Britcher* is not a maker of "britches," but a thinned form of *Bracher* (p. 113).

[2] Hence our verb to *heckle*, i.e. to "tease." See *Romance of Words*, p. 12. With the name *Heckler* cf. *Burler*, a cloth-dresser—"*Burler*, extuberarius" (*Cath. Angl.*).

are interesting only by their survival. *Cheeper, Chipper* means buyer, or rather, haggler, cheapener—

> " So many *chepers*
> So fewe biers
> And so many borowers
> Sawe I never "
> (Skelton, *Maner of the World*, 105).

In Lincolnshire occurs the compound *Colcheeper*, but this is perhaps Du. *koolschipper*, a collier, for Dutch names are not uncommon in the county.

Then we have a number of names which look very simple, but the exact meaning of which is very difficult to establish. Such are *Borer* [Robert le Borier, *City E.*], *Drawer, Dresser, Gatherer, Sealer*, all susceptible of various interpretations, e.g. a *Sealer* [William le Seeler, *Pat. R.*] may have made, or affixed, seals. In Acts of Parliament he is coupled with the chaff-wax (see p. 317) and also defined as identical with the " alnager," or official measurer of cloth (p. 111). The earliest sense given by the *NED.* for *dresser* is cloth-dresser (1520); but John le Dressour (*Chesh. Chamb. Accts.* 1301–60) may have been something quite different—

> " *Dresseur*, a straightner, directer, leveller; settler; a raiser, erecter; framer, fashioner, orderer, instructer " (Cotg.).

Still, as it is a Yorkshire name, it very probably has to do with cloth. A *Rayer* [Ralph le Rayer, *Fine R.*] " arrayed," but the verb is almost as vague as " dress." So we cannot decide whether the original *Drawer* drew wire, water, beer, pictures, or a barrow. In the sense of tavern waiter it appears to be a Tudor word. In modern dialect a *Gatherer* works in the harvest fields.

Binder means book-binder [Nicolas le Bokbindere, *Lond. Wills*, 1305–6, William Ligator Libror', *Hund. R.*, Oxf.]. It is still an Oxford name.

A certain number of these surnames have two or more possible origins. An obvious case is *Porter*, which may mean a door-keeper or a bearer.[1] *Burder* may be for "birder," i.e. Fowler, but would equally well represent OF. *bourdour*, jester [John le Burdeur, *Pat. R.*]—

"*Bourdeur*, a mocker, jeaster; cogger, lier, foister, guller of people" (Cotg.)

"Godes mynstrales and hus messagers and hus murye *bordiours*" (*Piers Plowm.* C. x. 136).

Bowler, Boaler, a maker of bowls, had also in Middle English the meaning of one who loved the bowl. In 1570 two inhabitants of the parish of St. Martin in the Fields were presented as "common bowlars"—

"For hit beth bote boyes *bollers* atten ale"
(*Piers Plowm.* C. x. 194).

Disher means dish-maker [Richard le Dischere, *Pat. R.*]. But in *Piers Plowman* "Dawe the *dykere*" or "Dawe the *delvere*" is also called "Dawe the *dis-schere*." Therefore *Disher* may be for "ditcher." Cf. *Dishman* for "ditch-man." *Pillar, Piller*, is generally local [Thomas Attepiler, *Close R.*], but also occupative [Dike le Pilur, *Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285], perhaps a plunderer—

"*Pylowre*, or he that pelyth other men, as cachpolls or odyre lyk, *pilator, depredator*" (*Prompt. Parv.*)—

[1] It has very probably also absorbed the "portrayer" [Nicholas le Portreour, *City D.*].

but quite as possibly a respectable " peeler " of trees. As late as 1732 I find in the *Nottingham Borough Records* a payment to—

" The *pillars* of the bark for work done in the copies."

Salter has two origins besides the obvious one. It may mean a player on the psaltery [Pagan le Salterer, *Northumb. Ass. R.* 1256–79] and also a *Leaper, Dancer, Hopper, Saylor, Tumber,* Fr. *tombeur*—

" Master, there is three carters, three shepherds, three neatherds, three swineherds, that have made themselves all men of hair; they call themselves *saltiers*; and they have a dance which the wenches say is a gallimaufry of gambols " (*Winter's Tale*, iv. 3).

This suggests *Skipper*,[1] which is not always a seafaring name. Cicely la Skippere (*Pat. R.*) was evidently so named from her agility. The word *skip* had in Middle English no suggestion of youthful frivolity—

" And whanne the apostlis Barnabas and Poul herden this . . thei *skipten* out among the puple " (Wyc. *Acts*, xiv. 13).

Curtler, Kirtler may be identical and mean a maker of kirtles, or short gowns, ME. *curtil*, but Gilbert le Curtiler (*Pat. R.*) may represent OF. *courtilier*, a gardener, found occasionally in Middle English as *curtiler*. *Sellar, Seller*, means not only a saddler, Fr. *sellier*, but also what it appears to mean in plain English.[2]

[1] Oddly enough *Saylor, Salier*, F. *sailleur*, leaper [Hugh le Saylliur, *Hund. R.*], is also unconnected with the sea, although G. H. *Le Seilleur*, A.B., H.M.S. *Lion*, was mentioned in Admiral Beatty's despatch, January 24, 1915. The very numerous American *Saylors* are mostly German *Seilers*, i.e. *Ropers*.

[2] It is of course also connected with " cellar " [William atte Selere, *City F.*, Ranulf le Celerer, *Pat. R.*].

[Gilbert le Seller, *City A.*, William le Vendur, *Chanc. R.*]—

"The *sellers* of Saba and Reema, thei thi marchauntis" (Wyc. *Ezek.* xxvii. 22).

A few occupative names are of somewhat deceptive appearance. *Foister, Foyster,* is a variant of *Fewster, Fuster,* the maker of the wooden frame of saddles. This is also one source of *Foster* [Thomas Foster *or* Fuster, *Kirby's Quest,* Yorks, 1285], which more usually represents *Forster,* forester—

"Forty *fosters* of the fe
These outlawes had y-slawe"
(*Ballad of Adam Bell*).

Nor can we doubt that the name *Foster* also represents ME. *foster,* used both of a foster-child and foster-parent; cf. *Nurse, Gossip,* etc.

"The Greekes, whom wee may count the very fathers and *fosters* of all vices". (Holland's *Pliny*).

Caller means a maker of "cauls," net-work head-dresses. Robert le Callere was sheriff of London in 1302—

"*Call* for maydens, *retz de soye*" (Palsg.).

Milliner is for *Milner,* i.e. *Miller,* or is a thinned form (see p. 130, *n.*) of the synonymous AF. *Mulliner. Copper* represents the once common *Cupper* [Roger le Cuppere, *Chart. R.*], now almost swallowed up by *Cooper,* as "buttoner," a common trade-name in the *City Letter-Books,* has been by *Butler. Comer* may be a variant of Comber, but a ME. *comere* [John le Comere, *Pat. R.*] was a newcomer, stranger—

"For knowynge of *comeres* thei copyde hym as a frere" (*Piers Plowm.* C. iii. 240).

Cf. *Guest, Strange, Newcome,* etc. *Pardner, Partner,* are from " pardoner " [Matthew le Pardonner, *Close R.*]. *Booer* is for " boar " or " boor," which have become indistinguishable as surnames [Robert le Boor *or* le Bore, *Exch. R.*]. *Ripper* is a variant of *rippier,* one who carried fish inland for sale in a *rip,* or basket, and is also a dialect form of *reaper. Sirdar* is quite a modern alteration of ME. *serdere,* a sworder [John le Serdere, *Pat. R.*]. *Swindler* is altered from *Swingler,*[1] a beater of flax. *Cheater* is for the official escheater, but may also, like *Chaytor,* come from the normal Fr. *acheteur,* which we have generally rejected for the Norman *acatour, Cater, Cator. Tricker,* a Suffolk name, is probably Du. *trekker,* as hard to define as our own *Drawer* (p. 116), but *Treacher* [Matilda le Treshere, *Pat. R.*] is OF. *trecheor* (*tricheur*), a traitor—

" Knaves, thieves, and *treachers* by spherical predominance " (*Lear,* i. 2).

Pooler, Puller, represent OF. *poulier,* hen-keeper, or poulter [John le Pulier, *Pleas*]—

" *Poulier,* a poulter " (Cotg.).

Nipper and *Plyer,* which seem to have some affinity with each other, occur in the country of the Nappers, or Napiers, and the Players respectively. *Poucher* has a parallel in *Purser,* a maker of purses, but its habitat, Lincolnshire, suggests something more adventurous. A *Powncer* " pounced," i.e. pulverized, various products, e.g. woad (p. 275). *Latter* appears to mean a lath-maker. *Wader* has not to do with " wading," but

[1] We have the opposite change in *Shingler,* for our *shingle,* a roof-lath, is ultimately Lat. *scindula,* whence Ger. *Schindel.*

with "woad" [Robert le Weyder *or* le Wodere, *Lond. Wills*, 1305]. It is common in north-country records. With *Wadman*, *Wademan*, cf. Thomas le Maderman (*Lond. Wills*, 1258–1358), who was not necessarily more insane than other men. Finally, the original *Bircher* was not an educationist but a shepherd [Alan le Bercher, *Hund. R.*]. Fr. *berger*, variants *berchier*, *berquier*, latinized as *bercarius* or *bercator*, is one of the commonest entries in cartularies and manorial rolls [Martin Bercarius, *Cust. Battle Abbey*, Richard Bercator, *ib.*, Geoffrey le Berkier, *Testa de Nev.*]. It has usually become *Barker*, as in *Piers Plowman*—

"Thyne *berkeres* ben al blynde that bryngyth forth thy lambren" (C. x. 260.)

The *NED.* follows the late Professor Skeat in erroneously explaining these blind shepherds as "barking dogs."

The ending *-ster*, originally feminine, soon lost this distinction in Middle English. It has given us *Bolster* [Robert le Bulester, *Pat. R.*] for *Bowler* (p. 117), and possibly *Bolister*, though the latter may be for *Ballister*, *Balster*, the "balestier," or cross-bow man, who has generally become *Bannister*. *Broster* is for "broiderer" [Gelis Browdester, *F. of Y.* 1375], and *Sumpster*, spelt Somister in Manchester[1] in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is the obsolete *summister*, explained by Halliwell as "one who abridges."

Many names in *-er* are rather to be regarded as nicknames. *Laker* means one fond of fun, from a dialect

[1] Now *Simister*, a common Manchester name. Cf. *Simner* for *Sumner*, summoner, and see p. 130, *n.* But *Simister* is also for "sempster."

verb which has now become "lark" [Robert *dictus* Layker, *Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*]—

"*Lakers*, such is the denomination by which we distinguish those who come to see our country, intimating thereby not only that they are persons of taste who wish to view our lakes, but idle persons who love *laking*; the old Saxon word to 'lake,' or play, being of common use among schoolboys in these parts" (*NED.* 1805).

Scambler may be a maker of "scambles,"[1] or benches, but in Scottish it means a parasite, sponger—

"*Scambler*, a bold intruder on one's generosity or table" (Johnson's *Dictionary*).

Ambler, a nickname of gait, has absorbed the occupative "ameller," i.e. enameller [John le Aumayller, goldsmith, *City B.*]. With *Copner*, ME. *copenere*, lover [Richard le Copenere, *Testa de Nev.*, Dors.], cf. *Lover*, *Paramor*, *Woor* [John le Wower, *Hund. R.*]. *Shuter*, *Shooter*, was once, as is shown by numerous puns, the regular pronunciation of "suitor," whence also *Sueter*, but the "wooer" sense is much later than that of litigant; cf. Adam le Pledur (*Fine R.*). It is possible that *Spouncer* may be a nasalized form of "espouser" [Thomas le Espouser, *Hund. R.*], explained by the *NED.* (1653) as an arranger of marriages. *Spyer*, whence *Spire*, is rather official, the watchman [William le Spiour, *Chesh. Chamb. Accts.* 1301–60]—

"The *wayte*, var. *spiere*, that stode upon the toure of Jezrael" (Wyc. 2 *Kings*, ix. 17).

Revere is the Middle English form of reiver, robber [Alwyn le Revere, *Cust. Battle Abbey*]—

"The *revere* of Gentilis hymself shal reren" (Wyc. *Jer.* iv. 7.)

[1] Hence *shambles*. See *Romance of Words*, p. 106.

The first *Trouncer* was presumably a man of his hands, though the verb was not always colloquial—

" But the Lorde *trounsed* Sisara and all his charettes, and all hys hoste, with the edge of y^e^ swerde, before Barak " (*Judges*, iv. 15, transl. of 1551).

Boxer is probably for *Boxall* (Boxwell, Glouc.), though Stephen Pugil is found in the *Pipe R.* *Yarker*, *Yorker*, are from dialect *yark*, for *jerk*,[1] used of the " jerky " manner of sewing of shoemakers—

" Watt Tinlinn was by profession a *sutor*, but by inclination and practice an archer and warrior. The captain of Bewcastle is said to have made an incursion into Scotland, in which he was defeated and forced to fly. Watt Tinlinn pursued him closely through a dangerous morass. The captain, however, gained the firm ground ; and, seeing Tinlinn dismounted and floundering in the bog, used these words of insult :—' Sutor Watt, ye cannot sew your boots ; the heels *risp* and the seams *rive*.'—' If I cannot sew,' retorted Tinlinn, discharging a shaft which nailed the captain's thigh to the saddle, ' if I cannot sew I can *yerk* ' " (Scott. Note to *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, iv. 4).

[1] The late Professor Skeat suggests with much probability (*Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1911–14, p. 51) that this is the origin of the cricket " yorker."

CHAPTER VI

PHYSICAL NICKNAMES

" He brought me some chops and vegetables, and took the covers off in such a bouncing manner that I was afraid I must have given him some offence. But he greatly relieved my mind by putting a chair for me at the table, and saying very affably : ' Now, six-foot ! come on ' " (*David Copperfield*).

THE most puzzling class of surnames consists of those which appear to be taken from some adjunct of the personality, whether physical, moral, or external, tacked on to the baptismal name without further qualification. I mean such names as *Head, Shanks, Belt, Mantell,* apparently descriptive of appearance and costume, or those which are the names of objects (*Baskett, Staff*), commodities (*Mustard, Wheat*), articles of diet (*Cake, Beer*), plants and flowers (*Garlick, Lilly*), and all manner of minute portions of creation down to *Barleycorn* and *Hempseed.* When such names occur as compounds (*Broadhead, Crookshanks, Broadbelt, Longstaff, Goodbeer, Lillywhite,* etc.) they may almost always be accepted as genuine sobriquets, which can easily be paralleled from the other European languages or from historic names dating back to the earliest times, such as Sweyn Forkbeard, Rolf Bluetooth, William Longsword, etc. But, when they occur with-

out qualification,[1] they are often rightly suspected of being merely imitative spellings of, or accidental coincidences with, names which are really of baptismal, local, or occupative origin. Thus *Armes* is from the personal name Orme (cf. *Armshaw* for *Ormshaw*), *Eye* is simply "island," and *Gaiter* is AF. *gaitier*, a watchman, guard. So also, *Hamper* is a maker of *hanaps*, or goblets [John le Hanaper, *City D.*], *Tankard* is a personal name Thancweard, whence also *Tancred*, *Tubb* is one of the innumerable derivations of Theobald, *Barrell* is the personal name Berald, OG. Berwald, bear mighty, *Billett* is a reduction of AS. Bilheard, spear strong, whence also *Billiard*, *Pott* is an aphetic form of *Philpot*, i.e. little Philip, etc.

Writers on surnames have usually dealt with these names in two ways. One method is simply to give a list of such names without comment or history, the other is to explain conjecturally, without evidence, any name of this class as a perversion of something else. The truth is, as usual, a compromise between the two. It can be shown, by documentary evidence and by a comparison with the surname system of France and Germany,[2] that the majority of these names are what they appear to be, though many of the more common have been reinforced from other sources. For instance, the common name *Head* is sometimes undoubtedly a nickname [William de Horsham called le Heved, *City*

[1] Such names, when genuine, undoubtedly indicate something conspicuous or abnormal in the feature selected. Such a name as *Foot* would have been conferred on a man afflicted with a club foot.

[2] There are also many Latin examples, e.g. Caligula, small buskin, Caracalla, Gallic cloak, Scipio, staff, Scapula, shoulder-blade, Struma, hump, etc.

B.], with which cf. Walter Caboche (*Malmesbury Abbey Reg.*)—

" *Caboche bien tymbrée*, a well-garnished head-peece, well-tackled braine-pan, a stayed, or discreet pate " (Cotg.).

But it is also local [Thomas del Hevèd, *Hund. R.*], the word being used either in the sense of top end (cf. *Muirhead, Woodhead*, etc.) or possibly as a shop-sign. We find also as common surnames Ger. *Haupt, Kopf*, and Fr. *Tête*, the latter being often the origin of our *Tait, Tate*, though this is also found as an Anglo-Saxon personal name, from ON. *teitr*, merry.

In dealing with these names a little common sense and familiarity with life are required. We know that the popular tendency has always been to make the unfamiliar significant. But, if we have been to school, we know that there is no limit to the possibilities of nickname manufacture; and, if we are philosophers, we know that human nature never changes. In some comic paper lately I came across the following gracious piece of dialogue—

" Who was that bloke as I see yer with last night ? "
" Wot ? 'Im with the face ? "
" No ; the other one."

If we go back to the thirteenth century we find that Philip ove (with) la Teste (*Pat. R.*) and Emeric a la Teste (*ib.*) owed their names to a similar play of fancy.

The great difficulty is that when such names are recorded in our Rolls in their English form the sobriquet, as a rule, is simply added to the baptismal name without any connecting particle, e.g. Richard Thumbe (*Pat. R.*), John Tothe (*ib.*), so that we can never be absolutely sure whether we have not to do with an early

case of folk-etymology. In French records, and, though to a less extent, in German, the use of prepositions makes the nickname origin clear. Thus Thomas Aladent and Pierre a la Dent (Pachnio), with whom we may compare Haim as Denz (*Roman de Rou*) may be considered to certify our *Tooth* and *Dent* [1] [Quidam Capellanus Willelmus Dens nomine, *Royal Let. Hen. III.*] as genuine nicknames, while Peyne mit der Vust (Heintze, 1366), whence Ger. *Faust*, would incline us to accept the nickname origin of *Fist*, whence also *Feast*, even if it were not absolutely confirmed by Johannes cum Pugno (*Pipe R.*) and Simon Poynge (*Nott. Bor. Rec.*). Cf. *Poincaré* (p. 288) and Robert Poinfer, i.e. *poing de fer* (*City E.*).

If we examine man from top to toe, first anatomically and then with an eye to his costume, we shall find that there is hardly a detail of either inventory which has not produced a surname, many perhaps now obsolete or corrupted beyond recognition, but the great majority still in use and easily recognised. It will be noticed that English and Anglo-French words occur indifferently in names of this class, and that among the latter are many terms which the language has since rejected. Names of the physical class also reveal the same habits of observation and gift for describing conspicuous features which are to be noticed in rustic names of birds, plants, etc. Education has changed all that, and we cannot imagine a modern peasant giving any one the nickname Larkheel (p. 142) or christening a flower the "larkspur."

Taking first the larger divisions of the human geography, we find *Head*, *Body*, and *Limb*, of which the

[1] Cf. *Durden*, Fr. *Duredent* [John Deurdent, *Fine R.*].

first has been already dealt with. Compounds of *Head* are *Broadhead, Cockhead* or *Coxhead, Fairhead* [Adam Beaufront, *Close R.*], *Greathed, Lambshead* [Agnes Lambesheved, *Hund. R.*], *Leithead* (little), *Redhead, Ramshead, Whitehead, Weatherhead, Wethered* (sheep's head), all of them genuine nicknames. More often *-head* is reduced to *-ett*,[1] as in *Blackett, Brockett* [John Brokesheved,[2] *Close R.*], *Brownett, Bovett* (AF. *bof*, Fr. *bœuf*), *Bullett* [William Bolesheved, *Pat. R.*], *Cockett, Dovet* [William Dowfhed, *F. of Y.* 1354], *Duckett, Gossett* [John Goosheved, *Lib. Vit.*], *Hawkett* [John Hawksheved, *F. of Y.*], *Hogsett, Doggett* [Roger Doggisheved, *Yorks Fines*, temp. John], *Redit, Thickett, Strickett* (stirk-head, Front-de-Bœuf), *Perrett* [Robert Pereheved, *Hund. R.*], and possibly *Brasnett*, from the "brazen head" used as a sign. With *Roughead, Ruffhead, Rowed* [William Ruhheved, *Pat. R.*] may be compared the Old French epic hero Guillaume Tête-d'Etoupes, tow-head, and the more modern Struwelpeter. With these go *Redknap* [cf. Robert Bealknappe, *Glouc. Cart.*], *Hartnupp*, and *Blacktop, Silvertop*. Here may be also mentioned *Pelly* [Hugh le Pelé, *Fine R.*]—

"*Pelé*, pild, hairlesse, bauld" (Cotg.).

In some cases *-head* is substituted for the obsolete local *-hide* (of land), e.g. *Halfhead*,[3] *Fifehead, Fifett* (see p. 2), while *Redhead, Whitehead* have absorbed

[1] This reduction to *-ett* also takes place when the *-head* is local, e.g. *Aikett* (oak), *Bridgett, Ditchett, Grasett, Gravett, Puplett* (poplar), *Watrett* (water), etc. For *Smithett* see p. 78.

[2] *Brock*, a badger.

[3] *Halfhide* also exists; cf. *Halfacre*. It is interesting to notice the substitution of *-head* or *-field* for the obsolete *-hide* in the

compounds in *-hood*[1] [William Redehod, *Pat. R.*, Agnes Wythod, *Hund. R.*]. With these cf. Robert Blachod (*Close R.*), John Fairhode (*City D.*).

The simple *Body* is not a nickname, but a personal name, found also in French and Flemish, and derived from the OG. Bodo, which may be short for one of the many names in *Bod-*, command, or even for Baldwin. In compounds, *-body* has rather the sense of person, as in *nobody, busibody*, etc. Well-established examples are *Freebody, Goodbody, Handsomebody, Lightbody* (probably ME. *lüt*, little), *Prettybody, Truebody*. In *Peabody, Paybody, Peberdy, Pepperday, Pipperday*, the first element may be the obsolete *pea, pay*, peacock (p. 194). The formation does not seem very natural, but cf. Reginald Pefot (*Pipe R.*) and Robert Levedibodi, i.e. lady body (*IpM.*, Notts). Many obsolete compounds of *-body* occur in the Rolls. *Jellicorse*, an existing surname, may represent Gentilcorps, or perhaps Jolicorps, and *Bewkers* is Fr. Beaucors [Jehan Biaucors, Pachnio]. In the *Pat. R.* occurs the name of John Ordegorge Gentilcors, i.e. John filthy throat handsome body, perhaps a man of good presence and foul vocabulary, but the double nickname is quite unique.

Limb is for *Lamb*, either a nickname or short for

place-names Fifehead, Fifield. There are several such places in England, all earlier known as Five-hide—

" It is an interesting and curious fact that we owe to the five-hide unit such place-names as Fivehead, Somerset; Fifehead, Dorset; Fifield, Oxon; Fifield and Fyfield, Wilts; Fyfield, Hants; and Fyfield, Essex—all of them in Domesday ' Fifhide ' or ' Fifehide '—as well as Fyfield, Berks, which occurs in Domesday as ' Fivehide ' " (Round, *Feudal England*, p. 69).

[1] We have the opposite change in Robert Shevenehod (*Hund. R.*) and Adam Hudcrul, curly head (*City C.*).

Lambert, the latter of which has sometimes become *Limbert*[1] [William Lembe *or* Lymbe, *Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33]. *Lem* records the intermediate stage. Of the same origin are *Lomb, Lumb,* so that this name has run through the five vowels. *Joynt* is an Irish Huguenot name, Fr. *Lejoint,* from the OF. *joint,* graceful, slim, etc.

Skull, Scull, is a Norse personal name [Ralph f. Scule, *Close R.*]. It means fox or the evil one. *Face* is aphetic for Boniface [Face le Ferrun, *Pipe R.*] and *Pate* is for Patrick. I have found no trace among modern surnames of Alexander Rodipat (*Pat. R.*) or Adam Rudipol (*Fine R.*). The simple *Poll* is for Paul, OF. Pol; cf. *Pollett, Polson.* From *noll,* used both for head and nape of the neck, we have *Hartnoll,* common in Devon—

"If oon hadde be *hard nollid,* wondur if he hadde be giltles" (Wyc. *Ecclesiasticus,* xvi. 11).

Forehead, Forrett is a true nickname [Roger Forheved, *Close R.*] and "brow" may appear in the compound *Whybrow* [Whitebrow the plasterer, *F. of Y.*]. The simple *Brow* is local, at the "brow" of the hill [Richard atte Bro, *Pat. R.*], though I find also Richard Surcil

[1] This thinning of the vowel in surnames is a phenomenon which has never, I believe, been dealt with by any phonetician, but there is no doubt of the tendency. An early example is Philip Bribisun (*Hund. R.*) for *Brabazon,* the man from Brabant. It is seen in the names *Shellcross* for Shallcross, *Flinders* for Flanders, *Willacy* for Wallasey, *Shipster* for Shapster, *Pettinger* for Pottinger, *Plimmer* for Plummer, *Birrell* for Burrell, *Chiplin* for Chaplin, and hundreds more. It has, of course, parallels in vulgar speech, the best-known example being the change from *master* to *mister.* Cf. also *Jim* for *James, weskit* for *waistcoat,* and Mr. Mantalini's *demnition.* I am inclined to think that *Stringfellow,* formerly Strengfellow, contains the northern *Strang,* strong!

(*Fine R.*). *Oxbrow*, in spite of the Swedish *Oxenstiern*, is probably from Oxborough (Norf.), *Spreadbrow* from Sprotborough (Yorks), *Albrow* from Alburgh, Albury, Aldeburgh, etc., and *Blackbrow* from Blakeborough (Lanc.), though it would be a very natural nickname.

Hair is imitative for the nickname *Hare* [Philip le Hare, *Pat. R.*] and *Hairlock* is for *Harlock*, a variant of *Horlock* (hoar), often spelt *Horlick*. Other compounds of *-lock* are *Blacklock*, *Blakelock*, *Whitlock*, *Blaylock*, *Blellock*, from the obsolete *blae*, *blay*,[1] an adjective probably meaning ash coloured, *Proudlock* [Thomas Purdelok, *Northumb. Ass. R.* 1256–79], *Silverlock*, *Gowanlock* [Robert Guldelok, *Pat. R.*]; but the suffix in these names may sometimes be *-lake*, which often becomes *-lock*, as in *Fishlock*. The commonest of these compounds, *Whitlock*, has three well-attested origins —(1) white lock, (2) white lake [Williame atte Whytelak, *Kirby's Quest*, 1327], (3) the personal name Witlac, which occurs in *DB.* [Whitlac de Longo Vado, *Fine R.*]. *Whitelark* is an imitative spelling of one of these. We have compounds of *-hair* itself in *Fairer*, *Farrar*[2] [John Fayerher, *Pat. R.*], and in *Harliss*, the hairless, while *Polyblank* is of course Fr. *poil blanc*, white hair. To return to *-lock*, we have the puzzling *Lovelock*, which the *NED.* does not find as a common noun till 1592. This is not an insuperable objection, as I have frequently found words used as surnames three or four centuries earlier than their first dictionary record; but it would perhaps be safer to regard John Lovelok (*Pleas*) and Walter Loveloker (*Hund. R.*) as belonging to the ME. *lovelich*, lovely, affectionate,

[1] *Blay*, *Blee*, is also a surname, probably from complexion.

[2] In the nickname of Harold Harfager the elements are reversed.

of which the variant *lovelok* occurs in *Piers Plowman*. In fact, the name, which is fairly common in some parts of England, may have an alternative origin from ME. *lovelaik*, dalliance [John Lovelayk, *Fine R.*]; cf. *Laker* (p. 122). *Tress* is short for Tristram. *Redmayne* is local, of Redmain (Lanc.), a place which is the usual origin of *Redman*, though this is no doubt also a nickname. *Curll* and *Crisp*, *Cripps* both mean curly in Middle English, but *Curley* is also a bird nickname, the curlew [Richard Curlue, *IpM.*], found more rarely as *Kirlew*. Absence of hair has given the native *Bald*, generally reduced to *Ball*, and the augmentative *Ballard*. From Old French come *Chaffe*, *Chave*, *Shave*, *Shafe*, *Shove*, *Shovel*, *Cavell*, *Caffyn*, *Coffin*,[1] and sometimes even *Cave*. Two examples must suffice [Bartholomew le Chauf, *Pat. R.*, John Cauvel, *Pat. R.*]. With these cf. *Favell*, tawny [Hugh Falvel, *Pipe R.*, Thomas Fauvel, *Fine R.*], and *Flavell*, yellow-haired. A pretty name, which may refer to the hair or the complexion, is *Nutbrown* [John Notebroun, *Close R.*], with which cf. John Perbroun, i.e. pear brown (*ib.*).

Nothing in one's appearance attracts the critical attention so readily as the nose, but, though there are many references in the *Pipe R.* to Moss cum Naso and his wife Duzelina, I do not know a single modern surname[2] derived from this feature, unless the legendary origin of the local *Courtenay* [Hugh de Courteney,

[1] This is the traditional etymology of *Coffin*, but I am not sure that this name, variant *Goffin*, which is found in Devon from the earliest times, is not rather connected with Cornish *Couch* and Welsh *Gough*, red.

[2] It is possible that some of our names in *-ness*, e.g. *Hogness*, *Thicknesse*, are physical rather than local. The simple *Neese* (p. 245), *Kneese* may also refer to this feature.

Hund. R.] has a tributary source of truth [William Curtnies, *Pat. R.*]. Peter le Noseless (*Pat. R.*), Agnes Kattesnese (*Hund. R.*], Adam cum Naso (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*), and Roger Withenese (*ib.*) show that this feature did not escape the notice of our ancestors. *Cammish*, found as le Chammus (Notts, 1272), means flat-nosed, Fr. *camus*, but a number of names which appear to belong here, e.g. *Cammis, Camis, Keemish*, etc., may equally well be local, of Cambois (Northumb.). *Beake, Bick* are not nose-names, as they occur in Middle English with the definite article [William le Beke, *Hund. R.*, Richard le Byke, *Close R.*], but I cannot explain them. Mariota Gosebeck (*Hund. R.*) is a very evident nickname. *Cheek, Cheke*, is possibly a nickname, but I have no evidence except a ME. Chericheke; cf., however, Fr. *Bajoue*, baggy cheek.

Eye in isolation is local (p. 125) and *Eyett* is its dim. But the compounds of the physical *-eye* are numerous and have not hitherto been recognized as such, e.g. *Blackie* [Roger Niger Oculus, *Cal. Gen.*], *Blowey, Brightey* [John Claroil, *Close R.*], *Brownie, Calvey, Dovey, Whitey, Birdseye, Goosey, Starey* (ME. *star*, starling), *Hawkey, Harkey*[1] [Geoffrey Hawkseye, *Lond. Wills*, 1330], *Littley* [cf. Andreas *dictus* Parvus Oculus, Pachnio], *Silvery, Goldie, Goldney* [Richard Geldeneye, *Fine R.*], *Sheepy, Smalley, Wildey*. Cf. with these William Sweteye (*Hund. R.*) and the medieval French names Brun-Eul, Blancus Oculus, Oculus Auri, quoted by Pachnio. German surnames in *-auge* are also numerous. An alternative origin from *-ey*, island, is possible for some of the above. Cf. *Rowney*, at the "rowan island" [Walter atte

[1] Cf. *Harkins* for *Hawkins* and *Harker* for *Hawker*.

Roueneye, *Hund. R.*], *Roffey*, at the "rough island" [Amfrid de la Rogheye, *ib.*].

Bouch, *Buche*, *Budge*, are Anglo-French names, "mouth" [Michael od (with) la Buche, *Pat. R.*]. For the form *Budge* cf. *budge-at-court*, Fr. *bouche à cour*, free victuals. This surname may sometimes have had an occupative origin, for William del Bouch, lay-brother of Furness Abbey (*Pat. R.*), was evidently employed in the provisioning part of the establishment. The English *Mouth* is also a modern surname, and Merrymouth is not uncommon in the Rolls [Adam Mirimouth, *Pat. R.*]. It is interesting to find Henry Millemuth (*Northumb. Ass. R.* 1256–79) three centuries earlier than the first dictionary record of "mealy mouthed." *Muzzle* is, I think, an imitative alteration of the nickname *Mustell*, *Mustol*, from OF. *musteile*, *mustoile*, a weasel [Hugh Mustel, *Close R.*, Custance Mustel, *Hund. R.*]. I doubt whether *Chinn* is generally a nickname, though I have known it so used by modern schoolboys. In Simon Chyne (*Ramsey Cart.*) we have perhaps the shortened form of Chinulf [John Chinulf, *Worc. Priory Reg.*], AS. Coenwulf, bold wolf. Or *Chinn* may be from *chien*, a common nickname [John le Chen, *Chart. R.*], which would readily assume the imitative form, apart from the regular tendency of *e* to become *i* before *n*, as in *ink*, ME. *enke*, or the local surname *Ind*, for "end."

Tongue is, so far as my evidence goes, local, from a "tongue" of land [Benedict del Tunge, *Pat. R.*], or from one of the places specifically named Tonge, Tong. To the same source belongs *Tongs*. *Gum* is a variant of *Gomme*, ME. *gume*, a man [Geoffrey le Gom, *Coram Rege R.* 1297], as in *bridegome*, now perverted to *bride-*

groom. Whitear and *Whittear* are variants of *Whittier*, an occupative name, "white tawer," i.e. a kind of leather-dresser [Walter le Whytetawere, *Pat. R.*], whence also perhaps *Whitchair. Boniface* is of course a font-name, Bonifacius, though its use as the landlord's name in Farquhar's *Beaux' Stratagem*, and its natural fitness of sound, have combined to give it a suggestion of rubicund joviality.

Gargate, Gargett, is from OF. *gargate*, throat, gullet [Hugh Gargate, *Pipe R.*], a name earned in the same way as that of the mythical Grandgousier and no doubt present to the mind of the creator of Gargantua. *Neck* seems to be a true nickname [Isabel Necke, *Fine R.*] and is found in compounds, e.g. the historical Edith Swanneck, the less-known Agnes Cousdecine, *col-de-cygne* (*Hund. R.*), and Simon Chortneke (*ib.*). Robert Tunekes (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*) perhaps had what is now called a double chin. The existence of ME. Swanswire suggests that *Swire* (see p. 80) may also be a physical nickname. Here also may sometimes belong *Halse,* from ME. *halse,* neck [John Langhals, *Close R.*] and also *Haddrell, Hatherall* [William Haterel, *Pat. R.*], from ME. *hattrel,* the nape of the neck (also, the crown of the head), of Old French origin, but differently explained by Cotgrave—

"*Hastereau*, the throat piece, or fore-part of the neck (belike from the Walloones, by whom a mans throat, or neck, is thus tearmed)."

This is a common word in Middle English (see Mr. Mayhew's note in the *Prompt. Parv.*). It may be noted that the name, with many variants, seems to belong especially to Gloucestershire, while in the adjacent Monmouth we find Hatterell Hill, perhaps so named from its shape.

The fairly common *Beard* [William cum Barba *or* od la Barbe, *City D.*], also spelt *Beart*, is curiously short of existing compounds, though it has no doubt contributed to *Whitbread* [Philip Wytberd, *Pleas*, Peter Whitbred *or* Whytberd, *Coram Rege R.* 1297]. *Blackbeard* and *Fairbeard* exist, though rare, and in *Blackbird*, *Silverbird*, the original suffix is also probably *-beard* [cf. William Barbedor, *Pat. R.*]. Thomas Dustiberd (*Pat. R.*) and Ralph Jolifberd (*F. of Y.*) are not now represented, nor, unfortunately, Ralph Barbe de Averil *or* Barba Aprilis, who was chaplain to Hugh Earl of Chester in the twelfth century. We may perhaps assume that he resembled Chaucer's franklin—

" Whit was his berd as is a dayeseye " (A. 332).

The insignificance of the beard in our modern surnames is in curious contrast with the place it occupies in history. The reader will at once think of the Langobards, Bluebeard, Charlemagne " à la barbe fleurie," Sweyn Forkbeard, Barbarossa, Graf Eberhard der Rauschbart, Blackbeard the pirate, etc. The German compounds of *-bart* are still numerous and fantastic. A possible English example is *Massingberd* [Richard Massyngberd, *Close R.*, Linc., 1329]. Lower says—

" A very old Lincolnshire family, dating from temp. Henry III. . . . the final syllable clearly having reference to the appendage of the masculine chin. The meaning of the other portion of the name is not so obvious, as no word resembling *massing* is found in early English or Anglo-Saxon. In some Teutonic dialects, however, that or a similar form means " brass," and hence *Massingberd* may signify Brazenbeard, with reference to the personal peculiarity. Inf. Rev. F. C. Massingberd, M.A."

This is quite possibly a correct guess. There is an ON. *messing*, brass, still used in German, and found

in Anglo-Saxon as *mæsling, mæslen*, while Lincolnshire is of course a chief habitat of Norse words.

Whisker is merely an imitative spelling of the personal name *Wiscard* [Wischard Leidet, *Pipe R.*], represented by Fr. *Guiscard* and Scottish *Wishart*,[1] but OF. *gernon*,[2] moustache, whiskers, has given us *Garnon, Garnham* [Adam as Gernons, *Pipe R.*, William Bought, called Gernon, *City D.*, William Blancgernun, *Pat. R.*]. Harold's scouts took the shaven Normans for priests until the king enlightened them—

> "' N'ont mie barbes ne *guernons*,'
> Co dist Heraut, ' com nos avons ' "
> (*Roman de Rou*, 7133).

In *Grennan* we have the Old French form *grenon*. ON. *barthr*,[3] beard, has also contributed to *Barrett*, and the same feature is incorporated in *Skegg*, though both reached England as personal names rather than nicknames. Sweyn Forkbeard is recorded in the AS. *Chronicle* as Svein Tjuguskegg.

The rest of the human form divine will give us less trouble, as nicknames fasten most readily on visible parts and facial characteristics. *Shoulders* is an existing, though uncommon, surname [Hugh Schulder, *Coram Rege R.* 1297]. ME. *wambe*, belly (cf. Scott's Wamba), a common name in the Middle Ages [Matthew a le Wambe, *Leic. Bor. Rec.*], still survives in *Whitwam* or

[1] John Wiseheart, Bishop of Glasgow (*Pat. R.*) is an obvious perversion.

[2] This is of cognate origin with Swedish *gren*, branch, fork, common in names. The connection between this word and a Viking beard will be apparent to the reader who remembers Sweyn Forkbeard and the bold, bad whiskers of Admiral von Tirpitz.

[3] This word is found only in compounds. The Viking Barthr is called Baret in Old French records.

Whitwham[1]; and *Whalebelly* is a well-known Norfolk surname. Cf. Walter Alipanch (*Hund. R.*) and Sancho Panza. *Back* is probably not anatomical, though Petrus ad Dorsum is found in Old French, as it has three other well-authenticated origins: (1) local [John atte Back, Bardsley, 1327], (2) baptismal [Backa solus, *Lib. Vit.*], an Old French name of Germanic origin, whence also *Bacon*; (3) ME. *bakke*, bat (p. 24). It is, however, strange that we find no compounds of *-back*, corresponding to such medieval names as Cattesbak and Longueeschine or OF. Maigredos. *Thornback* is no doubt from the fish.

Side exists as a surname, but is local [William del Syde, *F. of Y.*], the word being used either of the edge of a wood, the side of a hill, or the bank of a river, in all of which senses it is common in compound surnames, e.g. *Akenside* (oak), *Burnside, Greensides.* In *Halfside* the first element perhaps means half-way. *Tinside* is of course for Tyne-side, as *Tinnett* is for Tynehead [Richard del Tyndiheved, *Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33]. *Shipsides* is probably from a pasture (sheep). But undoubted nicknames are *Heaviside, Ironside,* and *Whiteside* [Robert Whytside, *Fine R.*], the last being also local [Richard de Whiteside, *Close R.*]. In my *Romance of Names* (p. 126) I have suggested that *Handyside, Hendyside,* may represent ME. *hende side*, gracious custom, but the variant *Handasyde* suggests a possible nickname of attitude, "hand at side," for a man fond of standing with arms akimbo; cf. Guillelmus Escu - à - Col

[1] But perhaps local, AS. *hwamm*, corner; cf. Alexander del Qwhom (*Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*), where the initial *Q-* is north-country for *W-*, as in *Quarton* for Wharton, *Quigley* for Wigley, etc.

(Pachnio). The formation of *Strongitharm* is somewhat similar. *Silverside* is local, from a spot in the Lake Country [John de Sylversyd, *Preston Guild R.* 1397, Bardsley]. *Hardrib* seems to be a nickname, as also *Broadribb, Brodribb,* the latter no doubt sometimes corrupted, as Bardsley suggests, from Bawdrip (Som.). *Rump* is a common name in Norfolk, and there are plenty of early examples from East Anglia [Robert Rumpe, *Ramsey Cart.*, Roger Rompe, *Pat. R.*, Suff., Casse Rumpe, *Hund. R.*, Camb.]. It is probably short for Rumbold or some other personal name in *Rum-*, noble. Heintze derives the corresponding German *Rumpf* in the same way. But *Fessey* seems to represent Fr. *fessu,* explained by Cotgrave as "great buttockt." Richard le Fessu was butler to Edward II. (*Pat. R.*), and the change of form is normal; cf. the vulgar pronunciation of *nephew, value*—

> "In short, I firmly du believe
> In Humbug generally,
> Fer it's a thing thet I perceive
> To hev a solid *vally*"
> (Russell Lowell, *The Pious Editor's Creed*).

Hand, Hands, may be explained as rimed on *Rand, Rands* (Randolph), as Hob is on Robert and Hick on Richard, but nickname origin is also certain [Robert Asmains, *Close R.*, Ralph cum Manibus, *ib.*]. *Whitehand* exists, and *Balmain* means fair hand [John Belemeyns, *Pat. R.*]. To the same origin must be sometimes ascribed *Main, Mayne.* Cf. *Fist* (p. 127). *Quatermain, Quarterman,* is also a nickname [Herbert Quatremains, *Fine R.*]; cf. William Quaterpe (*Pat. R.*). The arm appears only in compounds [*Armstrong, Strongi-*

tharm], but we have, through French, *Firebrace, Fairbrass, Farbrace* [Stephen Ferebraz, *City A.*], and *Bradfer* [Matthew Brazdefer, *Ramsey Cart.*]. This last has also given *Bradford*, just as *Pettifer* has sometimes become *Pettiford*. Is *Stallibrass* [William Stalipres, *Pipe R.*] a hybrid imitation of these with *steel* as its first component? Such hybrids occur, e.g. the medieval name Maynstrang, a compromise between "hand strong" and "main forte."

The common surname *Legg* is both baptismal and local [Nicholas f. Legge, *Fine R.*, Pagan de la Leg, *Kirby's Quest*, 1327]. In the first case it is short for *Ledger, Legard* [Leggard de Aula, *Hund. R.*], AS. Leodgær or Leodgeard; in the second it is an archaic spelling of *Leigh, Lea*, a meadow. Here also belong *Barleggs*, barley meadows, and *Whitelegg* [Richard de Whiteleg, *Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285], though Henry Whitshonk (*Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4) suggests an alternative origin for the second. It is possible that there may have been a later formation from the "leg" used as a hosier's sign, but for this I have found no evidence. Leg, being a Norse word, may occur in the compound *Sprackling*, corruptly *Spratling* [Gervase f. Sprakeling, *Feet of Fines*], which Björkman identifies with the Old Norse nickname Sprakaleggr, of the creaking legs; cf. Ger. *Knackfuss*. In Middle English the native *shank* seems to have been preferred in descriptive epithets [Walter Schanke, *Pipe R.*], hence *Shanks, Crookshanks* or *Cruickshank, Sheepshanks*, and the less common *Ettershank*, from dial. *edder, etter*, a thin rod used in fence making—

> "*Edder* and stake
> Strong hedge to make" (Tusser).

We also find compounds of *jambe*, e.g. *Foljambe*, *Fulljames* [Thomas Folejambe, *Hund R.*], while the still commoner Bellejambe [Adam Belejambe, *Pat. R.*] has been transformed into *Belgian*. *Knee* may refer to some geographical feature, like Ger. *Knie*, which Heintze derives from the same word used of a nook in a wood, but it may also come from Knaith (Linc.), spelt Kneye in the *Fine R.*; cf. *Smee* for *Smeeth* (p. 77). *Kneebone*, being a Cornish name, is best left alone. *Shinn*, *Shine* appears to be a personal name, occurring chiefly on the Welsh border, and hence probably Keltic. It may even be a thinned form (p. 130, *n.*) of *Shone*,[1] Welsh for John. For *Foot* cf. Gregory cum Pede (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*) and Jean Aupie, Andreas ad Pedem (Pachnio). This has several compounds, *Barfoot* or *Burfoot*, *Broadfoot*, *Lightfoot* [Lyghtefote Nuncius, in the Towneley Play of *Cæsar Augustus*], *Longfoot*, *Proudfoot*, *Whitefoot* (cf. *Blampied*, *Blampey*), *Crowfoot*, *Grayfoot* (*gray*, a badger), *Pauncefote*, *Puddifoot*. The last, also found as *Puddephatt*, *Puttifoot*, etc., is well attested as a nickname in Middle English, and belongs to a dial. adjective meaning thick or stumpy. Cf. Richard Pudito (*Hund. R.*), John Podipol (*ib.*), John Podihog (*Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4)—

"He had club feet, and . . . his nickname *Poddy* came from this peculiarity of his walk" (H. Armitage, *Sorrelsykes*).

Puddifant, *Puttifent* means "chubby child" (see p. 247), unless it is merely a corruption of *Buttivant* (p. 256, *n.*). The obsolete, or apparently obsolete, compounds of *-foot* are very numerous (see p. 144). With *Pettifer*, i.e. *pied de fer*, cf. John Stelfot (*City C.*), Ralph Irenfot (*Pat. R.*), and with *Pettigrew*, *pied de grue*, cf.

[1] With this cf. Cornish *Chown* [John Chone, *Close R.*, Cornwall].

Ger. *Kranefuss*. *Heels* generally belongs to AS. *healh*, a local term of doubtful meaning (see p. 62). But I have found Larkehele as a medieval name and also John dictus Talun (*Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* 1266–79). In the latter example *talon* may have its later meaning of claw rather than heel, but it is much older than any instance of *talon*, claw, in the *NED*. Anyhow, it is possibly the origin of *Tallents*. *Toe*, *Toes*, are local (p. 50), but *Prictoe* is apparently a nickname from some physical peculiarity.

Among internal organs we have *Heart*, *Lung*, *Kidney*, *Giblett*. The first, generally for the animal nickname *Hart*, may sometimes be genuine; cf. Richard Quoer (*Hund. R.*) and Fr. *Cœur*; but *Lung* is a variant of *Long* [Geoffrey le Lung, *Hund. R.*], *Kidney* is an Irish name, and *Giblett* is a dim. of Gilbert. With *Goodhart*, *Goodheart* we may compare *Bunker* [William Boncuor, *Fine R.*, Robert Finquoyr, *Hund. R.*]. *Hartfree* has a suggestion of the Restoration dramatists, but is probably AS. Heardfrith. *Bowell* is a variant of *Powell*, Welsh ab Howel [Strael Aboel, *Fine R.*, Glouc.], and *Bowles* is local, of Bouelles (Seine-Inf.) [Hugh de Boeles, *Fine R.*]. *Brain*, found chiefly on the Welsh border, is a Keltic name; cf. *Macbrain*. *Blood* is a Welsh patronymic, ab Lloyd, which became *Blood*, *Bloyd*, *Blud* just as the simplex gave *Flood*, *Floyd*, *Flud*. The compounds *Wildblood*, *Youngblood* are temperamental rather than physical. They are perhaps really compounds of *blood* in its figurative sense of offspring, person [1]—

"This Abel was a blissid *blod*" (*Cursor Mundi*, 1035).

[1] Cf. the similar use of Ger. *Blut*—"*Ein junges Blut*, a very youth" (Ludwig). *Jungblut* is a German surname.

Cf. the more modern "young blood," "wild young blood," used of a buck or gay spark.

Bone is usually for Fr. *le bon*, but both *Bones* and *Baines* [1] may be taken literally [Simon Baynes, *Fine R.*, Muriel Bones, *Chart. R.*]. Compounds are *Longbones, Langbain,*[2] *Cockbain, Smallbones, Rawbone*, the obsolete Sorebones, and the existing *Hollebon, Hollobone*, hollow bone,[3] corresponding exactly to Ger. *Holbein* [Arnoldus *dictus* Holbein, 13th century, Heintze]. *Collarbone* is an imitative spelling of *Colbourne, Allbones* is from Alban, and *Rathbone* is, I think, local, from Radbourne (Derb.). It is a Cheshire name. Lower gives *Skin* as a surname. I have not met with it, but *Purple* may mean "clear skin," OF. *pure pel* [Roger Purpel, *Pat. R.*]. *Earskin* is of course for the local Erskine. *Tear* is for the Gaelic *MacTear*, son of the carpenter.

Here are a few more, apparently obsolete, nicknames of this class. Although many of them are French in form, they all occur in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Probably some of them still exist: Barheved (one origin of *Barrett*), Brokinheved, Flaxennehed, Hevyheved, Hundesheved, Kenidheyd (*kennet*, a small hound), Sleghtheved, Wysheved, Todheved (*tod*, a fox), Visdelu (wolf's face), Visdechat, Clenebodi, Hendibodi, Oyldebuf (*œil de bœuf*), Grasenleol (*gras en l'œil*), Fatteneye, Mauregard *or* Maure-

[1] *Bain* is usually Scottish, equivalent to *Bean*, fair, but it is also a nickname from ME. *bain*, ready; cf. Robert Unbayn, i.e. the unready (*F. of Y.*).

[2] Here, and in some other compounds, *bain* perhaps means especially leg; cf. Adam Coltbayn (*Northumb. Ass. R.* 1256–79). In the *Towneley Mysteries* "langbain" is used for a sluggard.

[3] *Holloman* is a variant of *Holliman*, usually "holy man" [William Haliman, *Pat. R.*].

ward, Scutelmuth, Swetemouth, Widmuth, Dogmow, Belebuche, Quatrebuches, Treynez (three noses), Sharpberd, Stykberd, Tauntefer (*dent de fer*), Auburnhor, Yalowehair, Blanchpeil (*poil*), Rugepeil, Beaupel, Curpel (*court*), Blakneyk, Longecoo (*cou*), Longto, Irento, Clenhond, Lefthand, Blanchemains, Malemayns, Tortemayns, Mainwrench (twisted ?), Beaubras, Forbraz, Bukfot, Bulfot, Coufot, Doggefot, Gildenefot, Gosefot, Harefot, Hundesfot, Kaifot (*kye*, cow), Playfot (splay ?), Sikelfot, Sorefot, Fothot, Pedechen (*pied de chien*), Pedelever (*lièvre*), Pettegris (*grice*, a pig), Pe de Argent, Hautepe, Brounbayn, Crokebayn, Brunecoste (now *Bronkhurst ?*), Querdebeof (*cœur*), Corndebeof, Cormaleyn (*cœur malin*), Curmegen (*cœur méchant ?*), Catteskyn, Sancmedlé, Slytwombe, Richwombe (cf. Fr. *Richepanse*), Pesewombe,[1] Calvestayl, Wytebrech, Smalbehynd, Fayrarmful.

[1] *Panse à pois* is an invective epithet applied to the English in a French patriotic song of the fifteenth century attributed to Oliver Basselin—

> "Ne craignez point à les batre,
> Ces godons (*goddams*), *panches à pois ;*
> Car ung de nous en vault quatre,
> Au moins en vault-il bien troys."

CHAPTER VII

COSTUME NICKNAMES

" ' Sir,' said Mr. Tupman, his face suffused with a crimson glow, ' this is an insult.' ' Sir,' replied Mr. Pickwick in the same tone, ' it is not half the insult to you that your appearance in my presence in a green velvet jacket with a two-inch tail would be to me ' " (*Pickwick*).

HAVING examined man anatomically, we will now make a detailed exploration of his costume in peace and war. When a small boy assumes his first topper, he knows he must steel his heart against the salutation " Ullo, 'at," with which members of the outspoken classes will greet him, and a provincial tragedian, impersonating a picturesque brigand, has been encouraged from the gallery with " Go it, boots ! " The Middle Ages were equally attentive to the conspicuous in costume and there is scarcely an article of attire [1] or an adjunct of equipment which has not given a surname, either in isolation, *Hatt, Hood,* or accompanied by an adjective, *Curthose, Hardstaff.* It need hardly be said that many names of this type have an alternative shop-sign origin [Thomas del Hat, *Hund. R.*]. The Tabard will occur at once to everyone, and *Crowne* is another obvious case. As an example of the way in which

[1] Space does not allow of describing the garments mentioned and their varied meanings in ME. Those interested should consult the *NED.* or Fairholt's *Costume in England.*

names have been taken from garments we may take the extreme case of *Coverlid*. It would seem incredible that anyone should be nicknamed from a counterpane or quilt, if we had not as evidence Matilda Cooptoria (*Hund. R.*)—

"Hoc coopertorium, a *coverlyd*" (*Voc.*).

From the head-gear we get *Hatt, Capp* [Alward Capp, *Pipe R.*], *Hood, Capron* (Fr. *chaperon*), and the obsolete Capoce [Nicholas Capoce, *Pat. R.*]—

"*Capuchon*, a *capuche*; a monk's cowle or hood" (Cotg.).

The Middle English compounds of *Hood* seem to have been absorbed by those of *Head* (p. 129). *Cowl, Cowell*, is usually a Manx name (see p. 319, *n.* 1), but may sometimes belong here. *Toye* is a dial. word for a close-fitting cap [Warin Toy, *Hund. R.*]. It now belongs to the north and is used several times by Scott. *Feather* may be an alteration of *Father*, once much commoner as a surname than now; cf. *Pennyfeather* for *Pennefather*,[1] a miser [Justinian Panyfader, *Archbp. Peckham's Let.* 1279–92]. But John Fether (*Bp. Kellawe's Reg.* 1334) points to literal interpretation. *Bonnett* is generally of French origin, a derivative of *bon* (see p. 289). Among the many sources of *Barrett* must probably be reckoned OF. *barrette*, a biretta, so common in the expression "parler à la barrette"—

"*Barrette*, a cap, or bonnet."

"*Parler a sa barrette*, to expostulate with him face to face; to speake home, and to his teeth, unto him" (Cotg.).

[1] This has also become *Pannifer, Penfare*. Cf. the rustic "granfer" for grandfather. The earliest *NED.* record for "pennyfather" is 1549.

This word, which has given a French surname, may be responsible for Walter *dictus* Baret (*Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* 1266–79), but this may be the OF. and ME. *barat*, guile, contention, etc., whence also *Barter*—

"*Baratowre*, pungnax (*sic*), rixosus" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

To costume also occasionally belongs *Chappell*, OF. *chapel* (*chapeau*). The hatter is generally "le chaplier" in the Rolls, whence *Shapler*.[1] With the Sussex name *Quaife*, from a Norman form of coif [Andrew Coyfe, *Pat. R.*], cf. Lucy la Queyfer, i.e. the coif-maker (*ib.*). *Kercher*, *Kurcher*, *Kerchey*, are from kerchief in its original sense, *couvre-chef*—

"With this *kerchere* I kure thi face" (*Coventry Mysteries*).

Neck-wear seems to be recorded in *Collar*, *Ruff*, *Scarf*, and *Partlett*, but none of these are genuine. *Collar* is an imitative spelling of *Collier*, a charcoal-burner. The ruff came after the surname period [2] and *Ruff* is simply a phonetic spelling of *Rough*; cf. *Tuff* for *Tough* [Nicholas le Toghe, *Hund. R.*]. *Ruffell*, *Ruffles*, I take to be local, at the "rough heal"; see p. 61, and cf. *Roughley*, *Roughsedge*. *Scarf* is an Old Norse word, still used in the Orkneys for the cormorant or shag, and made into a personal name in

[1] It is strange that the name is not commoner. *Hatter* is equally rare. *Sh-* for Fr. *Ch-* shows comparatively modern adoption. I take it that *Shrapnel* is a metathesis of the Fr. *Charbonnel*, *Charbonneau*, "little coal," found in *DB.* as Carbonel. The intermediate Robert Sharpanel occurs in *Cockersand Cart.*

[2] Hence the explanation I have given of *Quiller* in my *Romance of Names* (p. 171) is wrong. It is simply the *queller*, i.e. killer [Matthew le Queller, *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* 1225–54]. Also *Keller* [Simon le Keller, *F. of Y.*].

"Crackers, facers, and chylderne *quellers*" (*Cocke Lorelle*).

England [Hugh Scarf, piscator,[1] *F. of Y.*, Henry Scharf, *Hund. R.*, Linc.]. A kind of ruff worn in Tudor times was called a partlet, perhaps from the name of Dame Partlet the hen in the Romance of Renard, but the surname must go back to the latter.

Coate has got hopelessly mixed up with *cote, cott,* a dwelling, but we may assume that so common a word must have contributed to the ubiquitous *Coates,* while the existence of the Middle English nickname Turnecotel points to a dim. of the word as one origin of *Cottle, Cuttle. Medlicott* for "medley coat," i.e. motley, seems to be certified by Peter Miparty (*Fine R.*), Fr. *mi-parti* corresponding exactly to "motley"; but *Bodycoat* is an imitative spelling of Bodicote (Oxf.) Altogether this garment is rather disappointing, though there are probably some names in *-cote, -cott,* to which it has contributed. Lower gives *Gaicote,* a name I have not met with. *Mantell* is as old as the Conquest [Tustin Mantel, *DB.*]. *Freemantle* is a place in Hants where Henry II. built a great castle. It is constantly referred to in the *Pipe R.* as *Frigidum Mantellum,* though I do not know the origin of the name. But the existence of the opposite *chaud-manteau* [Alice Caumantel, *IpM.*] suggests that *Freemantle,* formerly Freitmantel, may also be a nickname. *Pilch* is etymologically a "pelisse," or fur cloak—

"*Pylch,* pellicium, pellicia" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

Tippett is a dim of the favourite Theobald (p. 40), or

[1] An appropriate nickname for a fisherman. Here is a more modern case, "At 5, Commerce St., Buckie, on the 18th inst., William Cowie, 'Codlin,' fisherman, aged 79 years" (*Banffshire Advertiser,* Aug. 19, 1915).

may come straight from Fr. Thibaut. With the historic Curtmantle cf. William Curtepy (*Pat. R.*), who wore a short *pea*-jacket—

" Ful thredbare was his overeste *courtepy* " (Chauc. A. 290).

OF. *gonelle*, a dim. of *gown*, is one origin of *Gunnell*. Geoffrey Grisegonelle was a Count of Anjou. William Sanzgunele (*Pipe R.*) belongs to an interesting type of name which, though not confined to the costume group, may be conveniently mentioned here. Existing names of this class are *Bookless*, *Careless*, corrupted to *Carloss* [cf. Robert Soroweles, *Lond. Wills*, 1319], *Faultless* [John Saunfaille, *City D.*], *Hoodless*, *Landless*, *Lawless*, *Loveless*, *Peerless* or *Pearless*, *Lockless* (cf. *Harliss*), *Reckless* or *Reatchlous*, all of which are obvious and to be taken literally. They can be authenticated from the Rolls and by foreign parallels, e.g. Fr. *Sansterre* (*Landless* or *Lackland*), Ger. *Ohnesorg* (*Careless*), etc. *Wanless*, sometimes perverted to *Wanlace*, *Wanlass*, *Wandloss*, is ME. *wanles*, hopeless, luckless.[1] *Fairless* is explained by Lower as a contraction of " fatherless " [William Faderles, *Rievaulx Cart.*], but perhaps comes rather from ME. *fere*, companion, equal, commonly coupled with *peer* in the expression " without *feer* or *peer*." It might even be for " fearless." *Artless* is an alteration of *Arkless* (p. 215), *Rugless* is for *Ruggles*, AS. Hrocwulf, rook wolf [William Roculf, *Pat. R.*], *Nickless* may be for Nicholas, or for " neckless " [Simon Nekeles, *Hund. R.*], and *Sharpless* is for the local Sharples (Lanc.). Makeless, the matchless, does not seem to have survived [Gilbert Makeleys, *Leic. Bor.*

[1] Cf. *Wanghope*, from ME *wanhope*, despair, but, like all *-hope* names (p. 63), with a possible local explanation.

Rec.], unless it is the origin of *Maclise*. *Thewlis*, *Thewless* [1] in modern dial. means sluggish, easy-going—

"He was a quiet, *thewless*, pleasantly conforming man" (Crockett).

Cf. the obsolete John Blodles (*Hund. R.*), Peter le Noselese (*Pat. R.*), William Tothelesse (*Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4), Thomas Berdless (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*); see also *Harliss* (p. 131). To the same group belong *Santer* [John Sansterre, *Hund. R.*] and possibly sometimes *Sansom*; cf. Fr. *Sanselme*, OF. *sans-healme*, helmetless.

To return to garments, we have *Cloake* [Alicia Clok, *Yorks Knights' Fees*, 1303], *Jack*, *Jackett*, and *Doublett*. *Jack* and *Jackett* are of course usually baptismal, the ultimate origin being the same in any case. With *Doublett* cf. Alexander Purpoynt (Stow, 1373)—

"*Pourpoynt*, a doublet" (Cotg.).

Jestico looks like a perversion of Fr. *justaucorps*, corrupted forms of which were common in Scotland—

"It's a sight fer sair een to see a gold-laced *jeisticor* in the Ha' garden" (*Rob Roy*, ch. vi.).

Wimple was a surname as late as the eighteenth century, so probably still exists, and "le Wimpler" is a very common entry in the Rolls. *Cape* and *Cope* are both sometimes from garments; cf. Guillaume a la Chape (Pachnio) and Henry Scapelory, i.e. scapulary (*Annal. Monast.*)—

"*Chappe*, a churchmans *cope*; also a judges hood" (Cotg.)—

but I fear that *Waistcoat* and *Weskett* must be regarded as corruptions of the local Westcott. *Taber* is for tabard [John Tabard, *Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4], and of course

[1] The simple *Thew* is probably ME. *theowe*, slave, bondman.

has been confused with *Tabor* (p. 175). It was not necessarily a herald's dress, for it was worn by Chaucer's Plowman—

" In a *tabard* he rood upon a mere " (A. 541).

Similarly *Surplice* is derived from the name of a garment not originally limited to ecclesiastical use. We are told that Absalom the clerk wore a kirtle of light watchet—

" And therupon he hadde a gay *surplys* " (Chauc. A. 3323).

Slavin [Robert Sclavyn, *Fine R.*] is from the name of a kind of cloak often mentioned in Middle English—

" His *slaveyn* was of the old schappe " (*Richard the Redeless*, iii. 236).

It is supposed to have been a Slavonian garment and is explained by Cotgrave (s.v. *esclavine*) as a seaman's gown. *Overall* is local, the first element being ME. *over*, river bank, while the second may be " hall " or " heal " (p. 61). The sleeve seems to have survived only in *Gildersleeve* [Roger Gyldenesleve, *Hund. R.*]; cf. William Grenescleve (*Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285) and Roger sine Manica (*Feet of Fines*). We do not seem to have any name derived from the glove, except the dim. *Gauntlett*, though Pachnio has Robert aus Ganz and others. *Mitten* seems to be a genuine nickname [Roger Mitayn, *Pat. R.*].

Belt has a compound *Broadbelt* [John Bradbelt, *Pat. R.*], chiefly found in the same county (Chesh.) as *Bracegirdle*. The first element of the latter is dubious, breeks or breast ?—

" Go and have to thee a lynyn *bregirdil* " (Wyc. *Jer.* xiii. 1).
" A spousesse schal forgete hir *brest girdil* " (*ib.* ii. 32).

It gave the name of a trade [William Brigerdler, *City B.*]. With the above names cf. Adam Whitbelt (*Pat. R.*) and Henry Fairgirdle (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*). The obsolete name Tutegurdel suggests a very full habit of body. *Buckle* is generally local [Alexander de Boukhill, *Fine R.*], and *Hornbuckle* is perhaps, as suggested by Bardsley, a corruption of *Arbuckle*, which, in its turn, is for the local Harbottle (Northumb.). In Yorkshire this is also found as *Hardbattle*. *Hose* [1] (cf. Raoul aus Heuses, Pachnio) has interchanged with *House* [Nicholas de la Hose, *Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285], and the latter has generally prevailed. Thus *Shorthouse* [2] is commoner than the original *Shorthose* [John Shorthose, *Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285], *Whitehouse* has absorbed not only Whitehose [Galiot Wythose, *Pat. R.*], but also Whitehause, i.e. white-neck, which occurs in *F. of Y.*, and Whitehorse, perhaps an innkeeper's name [Robert Whithors, *Pat. R.*]. The fairly common ME. *Curthose* [Robert Curthose, *Hund. R.*] is now almost lost in *Curtis*,[3] generally from *le curteis*, the courteous. The intermediate form appears as *Curthoys*. *Gaiter*, found also as *Gater*, *Gayter*, *Gaytor*, *Geator*, is either OF. *gaiteor*, a watchman, or an archaic and dialect form of Goater [Michael le Geytere, *Hund. R.*]. Probably both origins are represented—

"Custodes qui vocantur *Gategeters*" (*Nott. Bor. Rec.* 1279).

"Whether I sall ete fleysse of bulles, or I sall drynke blode of *gaytes*" (Hampole's *Psalter*, xlix. 14).

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[1] This word has a very wide range of meanings in Middle English, gaiter, stocking, greaves, breeches, etc. See *NED.*

[2] Hence also *Shorters*, *Shortus*; cf. *Churchers*, *Smithers*, etc. (p. 96).

[3] For this change cf. *Mellis* and other corruptions of *-house* (p. 96).

Stockings is local, at the stumps or forest clearing [Edmund del Stocking, *Hund. R.*, John atte Stocken, *Cust. Battle Abbey*, 1283–1312]. *Boot*, like Fr. *Bout*, is a dim. of some Teutonic name in *Bod-*, command, and *Button*, Fr. *Bouton*, is a derivative. In spite of Caligula, I doubt whether *Boot* is ever a costume name. The apparently parallel cases of *Startup* and *Buskin* can be explained differently. A *startup* was a rough country boot or high-low (see *NED.* and Nares)—

"Payre of *startoppes*, houssettes" (Palsg.);

but the word is formed in the same way as the surname, from "start up" [William Stirtup, *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* 1225–54]. We now say *upstart*, but cf.—

"That young *startup* hath all the glory of my overthrow" (*Much Ado*, i. 3).

Buskin is merely a metathesis of *buckskin*,[1] which may have been applied to various garments [Richard de Gravde *called* Bokskyn, *City D.*, Peter Buckskyn, *Fine R.*, Walter Buskyn, *ib.*, Martin Peildecerf, *Pat. R.*]. It may even have been a nickname from the quality of the human cuticle. There is, however, nothing to prevent Messrs. *Startup* and *Buskin* from having been nicknamed from their style of footgear; cf. Robert Heghscho (*F. of Y.*). *Slipper* is occupative, the sword-sharpener; see *NED.*, s.v. *swordslyper*. *Clapshoe* is a variant of the local *Clapshaw*, apparently the *haw*, or perhaps *shaw*, of Clapp, AS. Clapa.

[1] This is the origin of the common noun *buskin*. The *NED.* quotes (c. 1490), "My Lord paid to his cordwaner (shoemaker) for a payr *bucskyns* xviiid." The continental words suggested by the *NED.* for our *buskin* (first record, 1503) have no connection with the English word.

There is a large group of colour nicknames which may also be referred to costume. Even *Black, White, Grey, Brown,* may occasionally belong here, but though I have come across thousands of medieval *Greens,* they have all been local, "atte grene," "de la grene." Still, cf. Fr. *Levert* and Ger. *Grün. Blankett, Blewitt* or *Bluett, Blunkett, Plunkett,*[1] *Russett, Scarlett,* are all used, in Middle English, not only of colours, but of certain materials usually made in those colours; in fact *scarlet* as a material is older than the same word applied to a colour. *Bissell, Bissett* are formed similarly from F. *bis,* dingy, and *Violett* [Violetus solus, *Pipe R.*] must surely belong to costume. With these names, which are abundantly exemplified in the Rolls and exist also in French, go *Burrell, Borrell,* homespun, and hence, figuratively, simple, uneducated, and *Ray,* a striped cloth often mentioned in Middle English—

"When men with honest *ray* could holde them self content"
(Barclay, *Ship of Fools,* 8).

Lambswool also appears to describe costume, and *Woolward, Woollard* must sometimes represent ME. *wulleward,* clothed in wool—

"Faste, and go *wolwarde,* and wake,
And thole hardnes for Goddes sake"
(Hampole).

Adjuncts of the costume are *Staff, Clubb, Burdon,* a pilgrim's staff, and *Kidgell, Kiggel, Kitchell, Ketchell,* ME. *kycgel,*[2] a cudgel [Walter Kigel, *Chart. R.*, Matilda Kiggel, *Hund. R.*]. These are all well recorded and

[1] Also local, from some place in Brittany [Alan de Plukenet, Plugenet, Plogenet, etc., *Chart. R.*]. Hence also *Plucknett.*

[2] *Kidgel,* cudgel, is still in dial. use (*EDD.*)

are supported as nicknames by Giles Machue (*Pat. R.*), a Norman form of Fr. *massue*, a club. With *Staff* cf. *Tipstaff*,[1] given by Lower as a surname, from "tipped staff," and the more familiar compounds *Blackstaff*, *Hardstaff* [cf. Adam Toghstaf, *Pat. R.*], *Longstaff*. *Baston* [Thomas Bastun, *Pat. R.*] is of similar origin—

"*Baston*, a staff, club, or cowlstaff. But in our statutes it signifies one of the Warden of the Fleets servants or officers, who attends the kings Court with a red staff, for taking such to ward as are committed by the Court" (Blount).

Trounson is for truncheon [Robert Trunchun, *Hund. R.*], but *Blackrod*, *Whiterod*, *Greenrod*, *Grinrod*, *Bushrod*, are local, the second element being *royd*, a northern word for a clearing [Adam de Blackrod, *Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285], and *Wand* is probably an alteration of the nickname *Want*, meaning mole.

In the case of names of this type, we must also consider the possibility of a grotesque physical resemblance being suggested. One has heard of a tall lady being described as a "maypole." *Leschallas*, the vine-prop, is a common French surname, and *Vinestock* is found in England. *Gadd* comes from dial. *gad*, a long tapering stick, used figuratively of a lanky person [Joseph le Gad, *Pat. R.*]. In one of Maupassant's stories there is a bony forester called Nicholas Pichon *dit* L'Échasse, with whom we may compare Robert Stilt (*Ramsey Cart.*)—

"*Eschasses*, stilts, or scatches to go on" (Cotg.).

This seems to be the natural explanation of the German name *Tischbein* (table-leg). *Clubb* was used for a

[1] *Tiptaft*, *Tiptoft* is local, from some place in Normandy formerly called Tibetot, a Scandinavian name in *-toft*. It also survives as *Tiptod*.

rustic bumpkin [Geoffrey Clubbe, *Leic. Bor. Rec.*]. while " bumpkin " itself is possibly from the Dutch for a tree-stump. *Block, Blogg,*[1] is no doubt to be explained in the same way [Benedict Blok, *Exch. R.*]—

> " Ye are suche a calfe, suche an asse, such a *blocke* "
> (*Ralph Royster-Doyster*, iii. 3).

With this group of names goes *Whipp*, a nickname for a carter [Allan Wyppe, *Hund. R.*, Roger Wyppe, *Archbp. Romeyn's Reg.* 1286–96]; cf. William Whippestele, i.e. whiphandle (*Pat. R.*). *Purse, Pouch, Pockett, Satchell* are also to be taken literally, and Bernard Pouch, collector of customs [2] at Sandwich in the early fourteenth century (*Fine R.*), suggests to us how such names may have been acquired; cf. William Baglite, i.e. little bag (*Pat. R.*). But *Wallett*, so far as my evidence goes, is an alteration of *valet*, a servant [Robert le Vallet *or* le Wallet, *Close R.*]. It is also local, for Wallhead (see p. 128). *Porteous* in Middle English means a breviary, but as the name (also *Porteas, Portas*, etc.) is essentially Scottish, it may come from the special use of the same word in Scottish law—

> " *Porteous* . . . signifies ane catalogue, contenand the names of the persones indited to the justiceair, quhilk is given and delivered be the justice clerke to the crowner " (Skene).

Budgett, Bowgett, probably belongs to AS. Burgheard, usually Buchard in Middle English; hence also *Buckett*. *Trussell* is doubtful, although *Trousseau*, a pack, is a common French surname. Troussel is frequently found in the Rolls, but it may be identical

[1] Cf. *Blagg* for *Black*, *Jagg* for *Jack*, *Slagg* for *Slack*.

[2] Cf. John de la Barre, collector of customs at Chichester, temp. Ed. I. (*Fine Rolls*).

with the bird nickname *Throssell, Thrussell. Bundle* is probably local, of Bunhill,[1] and *Pack* is one of the many forms of the great Easter name Pascal [John f. Pake, *Hund. R.*].

Coming to purely ornamental adjuncts we have *Ring* [Robert Ring, *Hund. R.*] and *Goldring* [Richard Goldring, *Yorks Knights' Fees*, 1303]. *Ribbans*, a Norfolk name, is no doubt the Flemish *Rubens*, which is a Frisian derivative of Rupert, Robert. Here also we may put the precious metals, *Gold, Silver, Argent. Gold* is usually a shortened form of one of the Anglo-Saxon names in *Gold* (p. 45) ; but it is also a nickname [John *dictus* Gold, *Archbp. Peckham's Let.* 1279–92, Thomas withe Gold, *Pat. R.*]. With the second example I should connect *Wiegold ;* cf. *Wyberd*[2] (with the beard?). *Purgold* occurs in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* as Puregold. *Golden, Goulden*, usually for the patronymic *Golding*, is also decorative [Henry le Guldene, *Pat. R.*]. Both this name and Fr. *Doré* were perhaps due to the colour of the hair. *Silver* may in some cases be reduced from the occupative " silverer " [William Sylvereour, *F. of Y.* 1416], but it is of quite common occurrence as an epithet, and *Argent* is a well-established name in both English and French. *Jewell*, found also as *Joel, Joule, Joll, Jull*, is a personal name of Old French origin [Judhel de Totenais, *DB.*]. It is found earlier as Judikel, and I fancy it springs from a metathesis of ON. Joketel, whence also *Jekyll, Jickles, Giggle,*[3]

[1] Cf. Brindle (Lanc.), formerly " burn-hill."

[2] The common AS. Wigbeorht would explain this more safely ; but Searle has no name corresponding to *Wiegold.*

[3] Hence the place-name Giggleswick. The usual view is that Judicael is Keltic. Perhaps two originals are present in the above group of names.

and many other variants. The common surname *Diamond* is no doubt as a rule altered from *Daymond, Dayment*, AS. Dægmund, day protection, but Diamanda wife of John Coroner (*Lond. Wills*, 1348–9) shows that it was used as a fanciful font-name. German has of course many jewel surnames, but they are usually Jewish and of modern adoption. Our *Ruby, Rubey* is local, of Roubaix [Hubert de Ruby, *Cal. Gen.*]—

"Le marchant de *Ruby* ne pouvoit vendre sa marchandise audit pays de Flandres" (*Deposition of Bernard de Vignolles*, temp. Henry VII.).

Pearl appears to be a nickname from the gem, but I have found no example sufficiently old to be conclusive. *Beryl, Berrill*, occurs in the Rolls [Walter Beryl, *Fine R.*], but is probably an imitative form of the name Berald (p. 34), and *Jasper* is also baptismal, Fr. Gaspard,[1] the name of one of the three Wise Men from the East; it has also given *Gasper*. Finally, *Rainbow*, usually an imitative spelling of OF. Reimbaud, corresponding to AS. Regenbeald, may also have been a nickname for a man who loved bright colours, for we have the parallel case of the Minnesinger *Regenbogen*, still a German surname.

Having considered man in his civil attire, let us now examine him when armed for battle. *Armour* is for the occupative "armourer," and has preserved the article in *Larmor, Larmour* [Manekyn Larmurer, *City E.*]. *Harness* is baptismal [Robert f. Hernis, *Hund. R.*], from an aspirated form of the Domesday Ernegis, Erneis, an Anglo-Saxon name in *Earn-*, eagle,

[1] It is a Persian name, meaning "treasurer."

probably Earngisl, eagle hostage. But the existence of Fr. *Beauharnais* and Ger. *Harnisch* points also to a nickname, which is confirmed by William Duble Harneys, saddler (*City A.*). *Helm* may be short for one of the Anglo-Saxon names in *Helm-*, such as Helmær, helmet famous, whence *Helmers*, and is also local (see p. 63); but *Basnett* is from the basin-shaped helmet which was the usual head defence of the medieval soldier—

"And a brasun *basynet* on his heed" (Wyc. 1 *Sam.* xvii. 5).

Cf. the German names *Kesselhut* and *Ketelhod*, the latter being the Low German form (kettle hat). William Salet (*Exch. Cal.*) took his name from the type of helmet[1] which superseded the bascinet. *Caplin*, *Chaplin*, sometimes represent OF. and ME. *capeline*, a mailed hood [cf. James Cape de Mayle, *Pat. R.*]. *Habershon* is from "habergeon" (2 *Chron.* xxvi. 14), a diminutive of *hauberk* [Simon Hauberk, *Pat. R.*]. This name is further corrupted to *Häbberjan*, *Habberjam*, and *Habbijams*. The corresponding Ger. *Panzer*[2] is a fairly common name. This group was once much larger, but as the names for defensive armour became obsolete, the corresponding surnames died out or became corrupted beyond detection. William Wambeis (*Fine R.*) and Roger Gaumbeis (*IpM.*) took their names from the *gambeson*, or wadded doublet, worn under the armour, perhaps the origin of *Gamson*. William Curbuill (*Percy Cart.*) wore armour of *cuir-*

[1] On the origin of *salet*, *salade*, a helmet, see my *Romance of Words*, p. 199.

[2] Hence the *gepanzerte Faust* or "mailed first."

bouilli, boiled leather, once highly esteemed for this purpose—

" Hise jambeux were of *quyrboilly* " (Chauc. B. 2065).

This may survive in *Corbally* and *Garbally*. There are plenty of local *Actons* without invoking the medieval *acton* or *auqueton* (Fr. *hoqueton*) which was also worn under the armour, but the garment was important enough to give its name to a trade [Simon le Actoner, *Pat. R.*]. Both *Shield* [Roger Shelde, *Pat. R.*] and *Buckler* are sometimes to be included here; but the latter is, of course, generally occupative[1] [George le Bukeler, *Pat. R.*]. *Skew* may represent OF. *escu* [John Escud, *Pat. R.*], as in *Fortescue* and Fr. *Durescu*. Cf. with these names Walter Talevaz (*Salisbury Chart.*)—

" *Talevas*, a large, massive, and old-fasioned targuet, having, in the bottome of it a pike, whereby, when need was, it was stuck into the ground " (Cotg.).

Greaves has probably no connection with ārmour. It has three other well-established origins, viz. *grieve*, a land steward, ME. *græf*, a quarry, excavation, and ME. *greve*, a grove.

Among offensive weapons we have *Sword*, *Sard* [Syrich Swerd, *Pat. R.*, William del Espeye, *ib.*], *Spear*, *Spearpoint*,[2] *Dagger*, *Lance*; the last is more usually short for Lancelot, but Longuelance, Lancelevee are common medieval names; cf. also Fr. *Lalance*. *Rapier* is a variant of *Raper*, the northern

[1] In this class of names especially the reader must be reminded that many of them could be from shop-signs—

" Jelian Joly at sygne of the *bokeler* " (*Cocke Lorelle*).

[2] Is this rather a perversion of the local *Pierrepoint*, *Pierpont*?

form of the occupative *Roper*, and *Brand*, though it means sword, is a personal name (see p. 38). Apparent compounds of *-lance*, such as *Hulance*, *Roylance*, *Sandelance*, are merely accidental spellings of *Hullins*, dim. of Hugh, *Rylands*, *Sandilands*, both local; cf. *pence* for "pennies," *Simmance* for Simmons, *Pearce* for Piers, etc. *Pike* may occasionally belong here, and *Hallpike* is perhaps for "half-pike" (but see p. 51). With *Knife* cf. Jehan Coutiau (Pachnio). *Halbard*, *Halbert* may be a weapon name, but the reader will remember Halbert Glendinning. As *Dart* is essentially a Devon name, it probably comes from the river[1] Dart. *Brownbill*, a common Cheshire name, is doubtful. There are no early records, and the oldest occurrence of *brownbill* in the *NED.* is 1589. Of *Brownsword* also I find no earlier example than John Brownsword, 1561 (Bardsley), Randell Brownsworthe, 1583 (*ib.*), so that it is impossible to say whether the name is local or represents the weapon. Still, as *brown*, in the sense of "burnished," is a regular

[1] In my *Romance of Names* (p. 114) I have put forward the view that river surnames are rare and doubtful. They are, however, more numerous than I thought, e.g. Henry atte Sture (*Pat. R.*, Suffolk), Richard atte Stoure (*Coram Rege R.*, Essex), the river Stour dividing these two counties. Cf. also *Calder*, *Tweed*, *Solway*, *Wharf*, a Yorkshire name, *Gilpin*, a stream in Westmorland, whence also the imitative *Gilpen*. So also *Churn*, from a headstream of the Thames, whence also *Churnside*, *Chermside*, *Chirnside*, with which cf. *Calderside*, *Deebanks*, *Creedybridge*. *Sallibanks* may belong to Solway, but perhaps rather to AS. *sealh*, willow; cf. *Ewbanks* (yew), *Firbanks*, etc. *Allenwaters* and *Gillingwater* are both existing surnames, the first reminiscent of a famous song, the second probably from Gilling Beck (Yorks). Dickens may have invented Tim *Linkinwater's* name, but "linking water," from the Scottish *link*, to trip along nimbly, is quite a possible formation.

epithet of the sword in Middle English, I am inclined to think that the origin of the name is to be found in the "bonny brown sword" of ballad poetry; cf. Richard Whitswerd (*Close R.*).

Another name which may belong to this class is *Glave, Gleaves,* the latter very common in East Anglia. The word *gleave,* still used in dialect of a fish-spear, is the same as *glaive,* which in Middle English means both sword and spear and in Old French almost always the latter. In Middle English the word has also the special meaning of a spear set up as the goal of a race and awarded as a prize to the winner, the origin, I suppose, of the name *Winspear*[1]—

"Certes thei rennen all, but oon of hem takith the *gleyve*" (Wyclif, *Sermons*).

"*Glayfe* wynner, *braveta*" (*Cath. Angl.*).

It seems very possible that a nickname could come from this practice, references to which are numerous in Middle English literature. Cf. *Prizeman* and the origin I have suggested for *Popjoy* (p. 201). In the same way *Arrow* may come from the silver arrow awarded to the successful archer [Ralph Arwe, *City D.*]; cf. the obsolete Sharparrow. "*Mangnall's* Questions" are not very suggestive of medieval romance, but Robert Mangonell (*Fine R.*) undoubtedly took his name from the warlike engine with which he was an expert. That *Spurr* was a spurrier's sign is evident from the fact that Richard le Sporiere (*City B.*) is also called Richard Sporon (OF. *esporon,* a spur); cf. Thomas Esperun *or* Sporun (*Pat. R.*), whose name now

[1] Cf. also *Winspur, Winsper,* which may be the same, or may refer to winning one's spurs.

exists as *Spearon, Sperring, Spurren. Cockspur* was a London name as late as the eighteenth century, and no doubt still exists somewhere.

Of the same type as the names mentioned in this chapter are the following which appear to be obsolete —Whitebelt, Curtwallet, Brounsack, Pilchecurt (*court*), Ruggebag, Wydhos, Witheskirtes, Curtemanch, Grenehode, Irenpurs, Penipurs, Smalpurs, Halebourse, Redcal, Shortecal (see *Caller*, p. 119), Losgert, Blankherneis, Straytstirop, Langboue, Longespeye, Curtbrand, Descosu (Fr. *décousu*, ragged), Smalygurd, a list which could be added to almost indefinitely.

CHAPTER VIII

MISCELLANEOUS ADJUNCT-NAMES

" Oh ! quand ce jour-là je parus dans la cour du collège pendant la récréation, quel accueil !
'Pain de sucre ! pain de sucre ! ' s'écrièrent à la fois tous mes camarades " (ANATOLE FRANCE).

BESIDES the numerous nicknames derived from a characteristic of physique or dress discussed in chapters vi. and vii., we have a large number of surnames which appear to be taken from tools and implements, household objects of all kinds, articles of food and drink, and even coins and numbers. Many of these are due to the imitative instinct, but the majority are perhaps what they appear to be, and their use as surnames is due to the object in question having got to be regarded in some way as an inseparable adjunct of some individual. In Nelson's time the carpenter was called Chips and the purser Dips, while in Jellicoe's time the torpedo-lieutenant is known as Torps. When Smollett wanted names for three sea-dogs, Trunnion, Hatchway, and Pipes presented themselves naturally. We can imagine in the same way that the names *Meteyard, Meatyard, Ellwand, Elrod* were conferred upon early drapers who usually had such an implement in hand, or even put it, in the case of their

apprentices, to irregular but effective uses. Or the ancestor of the *Ellwands* may have been long and thin.

Baskett[1] is generally derived from an ancestor who regularly carried, or had charge of, a basket. We have also the surname *Maund*, from the archaic and dialect *maund*, a large basket, and it may be assumed that Gilbert del Maunde, serjeant of the almonry of St. Swithin, Winchester (*Pat. R.*), had charge of the alms-basket; cf. Ernolph del Bracyn (Fr. *brassin*, a brewing vat), mentioned among the officials of a hospital in the *Chart R.* Some men were no doubt named after the commodities they dealt in. Everyone remembers that Dobbin's school-name was Figs, a delicate allusion to his father's grocery, and I have known schoolboys with the sobriquets Bricks and Balsam, the reference being in each case to the source of the family opulence. Hence such a name as *Hardware*, with which cf. Robert Smalware (*Pipe R.*). The following examples have a strong trade suggestion about them—

Alexander Fresharing, fishmonger	(*City B.*)
Henry Graspeys (porpoise), fishmonger	(*City D.*)
Pyke the fishmonger	(*F. of Y.*)
John Tupp, *carnifex*	(*ib.*)
Nicholas Wastal, cook	(*City C.*)
William Duble Harneys, saddler	(*City A.*)

Why people should be named *Nail* or *Horsnail*, *Horsnell* is hard to say, but the fact remains that these names exist and that they mean literally what they appear to mean [Ralph Nayl, *Hund. R.*, William Horsnail, *Close R.*]. The corresponding *Nagel* and

[1] It is sometimes for *Bassett*, a dim. of *Bass*, i.e. *bas*, low; cf. *casket* from Fr. *cassette*.

Hufnagel[1] are well established in Germany, and French even has *Ferdasne* (*fer d'âne*). Equally unaccountable is *Trivett, Trevitt* [Ralph Trevot, *Pat. R.*], which is, however, guaranteed by Ger. *Dreyfus* and Augustine Tripoude [*Archbp. Wickwane's Reg.* 1279–84], for *trivet* and *tripod* are ultimately identical. No doubt some names of this type were sign-names. In the early Rolls this can be plainly seen [Hayn atte Cok, *City E.*, Adam de la Rose, *City B.*], and, even at a later date, when the preposition has been dropped, the connection is often pretty obvious. Such entries as John Aguillun, *i.e.* goad (*F. of Y.*), John Whitehors, taverner (*ib.*), seem to point to a shop-sign as clearly as Whitebrow the plasterer (*ib.*) to the outward and visible sign of a calling. One has read of an American dentist who suspended a gigantic gilded tooth before his premises, and, as every tradesman had a sign in medieval England, we may suppose that the name *Needle, Neild*[2]—

> "For thee fit weapons were
> Thy *neeld* and spindle, not a sword and spear"
> (Fairfax, *Tasso*, xx. 95)—

was acquired by a tailor whose emblem was a needle of exaggerated dimensions—

> "Moses, merchant tailor, at the *needle*" (*Pasquin's Nightcap*).

Ballance is clearly of sign origin, for Ralph Belancer, *i.e.* scale-maker, who, according to Stow, was sheriff of London in 1316, is called in the *French Chronicle of*

[1] Heintze gives thirteen German surname compounds of *-nagel*, one of which, *Wackernagel*, is very familiar to students of German literature.

[2] This is also for *Neil* with excrescent *-d*, but *neeld* is still dialect for *needle*; hence also *Neelder* for *Needler*.

London Rauf la Balance. *Crucifix* is no doubt also a sign-name, and in *Limmage*, for *l'image*, the article survives. See also *Spurr* (p. 162). But such clear cases are not numerous, and it is impossible to say whether John Hunypot (*Pat. R.*) owed his name to the sign of his shop, to rotundity of person, to a mellifluous style of oratory, or was named ironically from a particularly vitriolic vocabulary. Equally mysterious is the origin of John Sadelbowe (*Hund. R.*), Roger Hayrape [1] (*Pat. R.*), Robert Butrekyde [2] (*Hund. R.*), and hundreds of other such names, with which we may compare such German [3] names as *Birkenrut* (birch rod), *Windelband* (swaddling clothes), etc.

In this chapter I give a certain number of characteristic names of this class, pointing out as far as possible those that are genuine nicknames and those which most readily admit of an alternative explanation, and leaving it to the reader to decide how such odd names were originally acquired.

Among names which are those of tools and implements we have *Auger, Axe, Chisell, Coulter, File, Funnell, Gimblett, Hammer, Hatchett, Last, Lathe,*

[1] Perhaps from an elementary style of dress. The costume of Dancer, the famous miser, consisted for the most part "of hay-bands, which were swathed round his feet for boots and round his body for a coat."

[2] A butter-cask. The word is first recorded by the *NED.* three centuries later (1567).

[3] The comparison with grotesque German names must not, however, be pushed too far, as a large number of these are only about a century old, having been forcibly conferred on such Jews as were not responsive to the pecuniary suggestions of those entrusted with the task of diffusing surnominal Kultur. Examples of such names are *Dintenfass* (inkstand), *Quadratstein* (square stone), *Maschinendraht* (machine wire), etc.

Mallet, Mattock, Plow, Rake, Shackle, Shuttle, Wimble, Windlass. There are plenty more, but these will suffice as examples. *Auger,* also *Augur,* is a personal name identical with Fr. *Augier,* from OG. Adalgar, and hence a doublet of *Alger, Elgar. Axe* may be a metathesis of *Ask,* an archaic form of *Ash;* cf. the vulgar pronunciation of the verb "ask"; but it may very well go with *Dagger, Sword,* etc. (p. 160); cf. Robert Axe (*Hund. R.*), Ebrard Bradex, *i.e.* broad axe (*Pipe R.*), and Fr. *Hachette.* Our *Hatchett* probably has two origins. It is a normal reduction of *Hatchard* (p. 33, *n.*), but its connection with the implement is supported by Robert Coignee (*Chart. R.*)—

"*Coignée,* an hatchet, or axe" (Cotg.).

With these cf. *Twybell,* from the name of a two-edged axe—

"*Twybyl,* ascia, bisacuta, biceps" (*Prompt. Parv.*).
"*Twyble,* an instrument for carpentars, *bernugo*" (Palsg.).

Chisell is local, of Chiswell (Ess.), *Coulter* is occupative and equivalent to *Coltard, Coulthard,*[1] etc., the coltherd. *File,* which occurs regularly in Kent in the company of *Fill,* has a bewildering number of possible origins. It may be baptismal, for Philip or Felix [Adam f. Fille, *Chesh. Chamb. Accts.* 1301–60], or come from ME. *file,*[2] fellow, still in use in the Artful Dodger's time—

"At this point, the Dodger, with a show of being very particular with a view to proceedings to be had thereafter, desired the jailer to communicate 'the names of them two *files* as was on the bench'" (*Oliver Twist,* ch. xliii.).

[1] Said to exist also as *Coldtart.*
[2] There is also a ME. *file,* wench; cf. Fr. *Lafille.*

Most probably of all it is simply *Field* or *Fylde* with the *-d* lost, as in *Wiles* from the local *Wild* [Robert de la Wile, *Pipe R.*] ; cf. the Lanc. *Files*, for *Fildes*, also *Upfill* for Upfield, *Butterfill*, *Morfill*, etc.

Funnell, a Sussex name, is for *Furnell*, found in the same county, and this is the very common Fr. *Fournel*, a dim. of *four*, an oven, furnace. This somehow suggests *Tunnell*, which is the AS. Tunweald [Henry Tonild, *Pat. R.*]. *Gimblett* is a dim. of Guillaume with metathesis of *m* and *l* ; in fact, it is a doublet of *Wilmot*, which shows the same metathesis in *Wimlott*, *Wimblett*. *Hammer* is the Scandinavian hammer of Thor, occurring very commonly in local and personal names. It is also found as *Hamar*. Captain Hammer commanded the Danish ship which brought to England the bodies of the murdered crew of the *E* 13. *Last* would seem to come from a shoemaker's sign, but, if this were the case, we should expect to find it generally diffused, whereas it is purely a Suffolk name. The only clue I have found is John Alast (*Hund. R.*, Linc.), which may be for " at last." *Lathe* is Middle English for a barn [William de la Leythe, *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* 1266–79]. *Mallett* is the regular reduction of *Maillard*, a French personal name from OG. Madalhart, but is probably also a dim. of Mal, i.e. Mary ; cf. *Pallett*. *Mattock* is generally an imitative form of Welsh Madoc, but may in some cases be from the tool. With Reginald Mattock (*Coram Rege R.* 1297) cf. John Pykoyse (*Pat. R.*)—

" *Picquois*, a pickax " (Cotg.).

Pitchfork is a corruption of the local Pitchford (Salop).

Plow was a common inn and shop sign [Roger de la Plow, *Pat. R.*]—

"Master Nicke, the silkman at the *Plow*" (*Pasquin's Nightcap*).

Hence perhaps also *Plews, Plues*. *Rake* is more probably local, from a dialect word for a rough path, pasture [Geoffrey del Rakes, *Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33]. It is more often found as *Raikes*, whence also *Reeks, Rex*. Cf. the compound *Hollindrake, Hollingrake*, from dialect *hollin*, holly. *Shackle* is a personal name [Robert Schakel, *Coram Rege R.* 1297] which appears in some place-names, e.g. Shackleford, Schackleton; but it was perhaps originally a Norse nickname, from ON. *skokull*, waggon pole, etc. *Shuttle* is probably also a personal name [Simon Shitel, *Pat. R.*], from AS. Sceotweald,. as in Shuttleworth (but see p. 183). *Wimble* is for *Wimbolt*, AS. Winebeald, and *Windlass, Windless* should probably be added to the *-less* names on p. 149, for it seems to represent AS. *wineleas*, friendless; cf. Henry Frendles (*Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285). It might, of course, be a phrase-name, "win lass" (see p. 263).

The examples dealt with above mostly illustrate the fact that in names of this type we must always look out for imitative corruption, but in most of them the alternative literal meaning is not excluded. When a name is at all common it usually has more than one origin. For instance, *Winch*, which might have been put with the above, is derived from Winch (Norf.), from the "winch" of a well or floodgate [Richard Attewynche, *Pat. R.*], and also from ME. *wenche*, a young woman, which dropped out of the surname list as the word degenerated in

meaning [Philip le Wenche, *Fine R.*, William le Wenche, *Pat. R.*]. Cf. *Maid, Maiden.*

A small group of surnames connected with seafaring and the waterside belong rather to occupative names. Such are *Barge, Bark, Boat, Catch* or *Ketch, Galley, Hoy, Shipp, Wherry.* These are all genuine, though *Shipp* is also for "sheep"; and several of them are found among the Freemen of York much earlier than the corresponding entries in the *NED. Catch* is the earlier form of *Ketch* [Henry de la Keche, *City E.*]. Cf. such names as *Cart* and *Wain.* It is quite possible that *Carratt, Carrett, Carritt, Carrott,* all found in Lincolnshire, represent AF. *carete* [Nicholas de la Carete, *Pat. R.*] for Fr. *charrette, charotte.* At the risk of wearisome repetition, one must keep emphasizing the fact that the creation of surnames is due to unchanging human nature, and that their investigation requires common sense. There is nothing more natural than that a man should be nicknamed from the object most closely associated with his daily activity. Just as *Gager, Gaiger* is from the office of "gauger" [William le Gaugeour, gauger of wines in England, Ireland and Wales, *Fine R.*], so *Gage* was a nickname for an official of the same class [Nicholas Gauge, troner [1] of wools in Lynn, *Fine R.*].

To consider all the cases in which people have been named from the commodities they dealt in would take up too much space, so a few illustrative examples must suffice. There can be no doubt that surnames were

[1] The official in charge of the *tron*, or weighing machine. He was also called a *Poyser, Poyzer.* Sir William Gage, of Suffolk, to whom we owe the greengage, had not wandered far from the home of this possible ancestor.

acquired in this way, for we even find the inclusive *Chaffer* [Henry Chaffar, *Pat. R.*]—

"The *chaffare*, var. *marchaundie*, of the Jentiles" (Wyc. *Is.* xxiii. 2)—

and *Marchandy, Marchandise* both exist in French. I have found *Clothes* in Somerset, the home of the surname *Clothier*, in its older sense of cloth-worker. So also *Cords* and *Ropes* [Geoffrey Rope, *Pat. R.*, Richard Cordel, *ib.*] are probably of trade origin, though they may have been nicknames for that busy medieval official, the hangman. *Cordwent* is simply "cordwain,"[1] *i.e.* Cordovan leather [Lambert Cordewen, *Hund. R.*]. With the famous *Hogsflesh* we can compare Robert Pigesfles (*City A.*) and Johannes dictus Venesun (*Archbp. Romeyn's Reg.* 1286–96). The latter name, of which I have found several medieval examples, is no doubt absorbed by *Vinson, Vincent.*

This brings us naturally to the large number of names connected with foods and drinks, most of which can be accepted as genuine, though it is a moot point how far they are due respectively to the fame of the purveyor or the predilections of the consumer. The odd and homely character of many names of this class is exemplified by *Casembrood*, the name of a famous Dutch admiral, which has a parallel in Geoffrey

[1] In a somewhat ambitious book on surnames published a few years ago we find the astounding statement that "Lord Teynham, being a *Roper*, must have drawn his family from one who was a 'cord-wainer,' pacing hourly backwards and dealing out the hemp that was being spun and twisted, a monotonous toil from dawn to sunset, unenlightened by a glimpse of the future in which a descendant would wear the six pearls and have as crest a lion rampant bearing a ducal crown." Macaulay's schoolboy could have told the author that a cordwainer's interest in cords is only equalled by his enthusiasm for wains.

Cheseandbrede (*Yorks Knights' Fees*, 1303). Besides well-known existing compounds of *-bread* we find in Middle English such names as John Barlibred (*Pipe R.*), Adam Cokinbred [1] (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*), Cicely Cromebred (*Ramsey Cart.*), John Drybred (*Hund. R.*), John Netpayn (*Pat. R.*), and William Halibred (*Exch. R.*), the latter still existing as *Hallowbread, Hollowbread.* The French compounds of *Pain-* are equally numerous—

"M. *Painlevé*, Minister of Instruction and Inventions, returned to Paris to-day from England" (*Daily Telegraph*, Feb. 25, 1916).

Cf. Isabella Levanbrede (Yorks, 1379). To bread belongs also *Bulteel* [Agnes Buletel, *Hund. R.*], connected with OF. *buleter* (*bluter*), to bolt, sift—

"*Bultel* is the refuse of the meal, after it is dressed by the baker" (Blount).

Crust is short for Christian as *Trust* is for Tristram, and *Crumb* is local,[2] of Croom [Adam de Crumb, *Chart. R.*]. *Cake, Langcake, Longcake* are all existing surnames; Matilda Havercake, i.e. oat-cake, occurs in the *Hund. R.* and Robert Wytecake in *Archbp. Wickwane's Reg.* (1279–84); cf. John Foace, of Rouen (*Pat. R.*)—

"*Foüasse*, a bunne, or cake, hastily baked" (Cotg.).

Pancoucke, a famous French publisher of the eighteenth century, is simply the Dutch for pancake (*pankoek*), and our *Pancutt* is possibly an alteration of the same name. But *Honeybun, Hunnybun* are variants of the local Honeybourne. Another imitative name is *Suet*, for *Seward*, AS. Sæweard [John Suard, *Fine R.*, John Suet, *ib.*].

[1] For *cochet* bread; see *NED.*

[2] It may be also a variant of *Crump*, a nickname meaning crooked.

But, leaving aside such obvious names as *Pudding*, *Pottage*, we will consider a few derived from obsolete words. *Brewitt*, *Browett* is OF. and ME. *brouet*, broth, pottage, the ultimate origin of the Scottish *brose* [John Brouet, *Pat. R.*]. *Fermidge*, *Firmage*, *Furmidge* is AF. *furmage* (*fromage*), cheese. *Haggas*, now limited to Scotland, was a common word in Middle English—

"*Hakkis*, puddyngs, *tucetum*" (*Prompt. Parv.*).
"*Haggas* a podyng, *caliette de mouton*" (Palsg.).

With these cf. John Blaksalt (*Pat. R.*), Henry Peperwyte (*City C.*), John Blancbulli, i.e. white broth (*Chart. R.*), Walter Jussel (*Glouc. Cart.*)—

"*Jussellum*, quidam cibus factus ex ovis et lacte, anglice *Jussell*" (*Voc.*).

Sharlotte, which we now connect with apples, may be ME. *charlet*—

"*Charlette*, dyschmete, *pepo*" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

Collop seems a very odd name, but the oldest example I have found [Thomas Colhoppe, *Feet of Fines*] is identical with the earliest recorded form of the common noun *collop*. Drink names are less numerous. We have *Milk* [William Mylk, *F. of Y.*], *Beer* (generally local, see p. 53), *Goodale*, *Goodbeer*, *Coolbear*, etc., and, in earlier times, William Surmelch (*Pipe R.*), Robert Rougevyn (*Pat. R.*), and a host of similar names. We even seem to have general terms for food and drink in *Vivers* or *Veevers*, *Vittles*,[1] and *Beveridge*. The first I cannot prove—

"*Vivres*, victualls, acates" (Cotg.).

[1] This name, found in Devon, is more probably an imitative corruption of *Vidal*, from Vitalis, also a Devon surname

though it seems a natural nickname for a provision dealer or innkeeper—

"Amongst others, one Mother Mampudding (as they termed her) for many years kept this house, or a great part thereof, for victualling" (Stow)—

but *Beveridge* is amply attested [William Beverage, *IpM.*, Walter Beverage, *Hund. R.*]. We may conclude this somewhat prosaic group of surnames with those of two contrasted medieval entertainers, William Coldbord (*Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285) and Agnes Bonetable[1] (*Pipe R.*).

Among musical instruments we find *Bugle, Drum, Flute, Fidel* or *Fydell, Harp, Lute, Organ, Pipe, Timbrell, Tabor,* and *Trump.* Not all of these are what they seem, though the fact that Marmaduke Clarionett was living in York in 1559 inclines us to consider their claims favourably. ME. *bugle,* besides being short for "bugle-horn," meant wild ox—

"Oxe and sheep, and she geet, hert, capret, *bugle*" (Wyc. *Deut.* xiv. 5).

It was also the name of a plant, often confused with the bugloss—

"Buglosa, *bugle*" (*Voc.*)—

and, as the latter has given a surname, *Buglass,* our *Bugle* may go with the plant-names (ch. ix.). There is also a hamlet called Bugle in Cornwall. In the absence of early forms it is impossible to decide. But *Bugler,* first recorded by the *NED.* for 1840, can

[1] Cf. with these John le Caldeloverd (*Hund. R.*) and the existing name *Bonhote.*

hardly have been a *Hornblower*. As the name belongs exclusively to Dorset, I guess that it comes from Bugley in that county. *Mandlin* is an alteration of Maudlin, i.e. Magdalen; cf. *Manclark* (p. 234). *Drum* and *Drummer* are probably both local, the former being a common Scotch and Irish place-name, meaning "ridge," while the latter can easily have been corrupted from one of the innumerable spots beginning with the same syllable. Both *drum* and *drummer* are Tudor words in the *NED.*, and I have found no early examples of their surname use. In Middle English the instrument was called "taber" [Richard le Taborer, *Pat. R.*], whence the occupative *Tabrar, Taberer, Tabborah,* while *Taber, Tabor* may be shortened from this—

"*Taberes* and *tomblers*" (*Piers Plowm.* A. ii. 79)—

or be simply the name of the instrument used as a nickname for the musician[1] [Suein Tabor, *Pipe R.*]. *Tabrett* is also found and *Tambourin* is a French name.

The existence as surnames of *Fidler* or *Vidler, Flutter, Harper, Luter, Piper, Trumper,* all of which are well documented, is in favour of accepting *Fidel, Flute, Harp, Lute, Pipe, Trump* at their face value, but some of them have an alternative origin. *Fidel* is sometimes Fr. *fidèle,* faithful, *Flute* is rather an imitative form of *Flewitt,* AS. Flodweald [Fluold solus, *Lib. Vit.*], and *Harp* is a sign-name [Florencia atte Harpe, Bardsley, 1327]. *Organ* is a personal name [Organ Pipard, *Testa de Nev.*]. It has also become *Orgles,* by a natural corruption

[1] Cf. Fr. *trompette,* trumpeter, and our own "first violin."

which occurs also in the case of the common noun of the same form—

" *Orgles*, tymbres, al maner gleo " (*NED.*, 14th cent.).

Pipe is generally local, for a pipe or water-conduit [Thomas atte Pipe, of Bristol, *Pat. R.*]; cf. *Conduct*, *Cundick*. *Timbrell* [1] may be for *Tumbrell*, a name given to the official in charge of the *tumbrel*, " an instrument of punishment, the nature and operation of which in early times is uncertain; from sixteenth century usually identified with cucking-stool " (*NED.*). We may suppose that John Tumberel, collector of customs at Haverfordwest (*Fine R.*), worked this machine in his spare time. Probably *Root* is sometimes from the *rote*, the most famous of all medieval instruments [Simon Rote, *Hund. R.*], and William Sawtrey, the first Lollard martyr, took his name from the psaltery.

In English, as in other languages, we find a certain number of surnames derived from coins, e.g. *Farthing*, *Halfpenny*, *Penny*, *Shilling*, also *Skilling* (John Eskelling, *Pat. R.*], *Twopenny*, *Tippenny*,[2] *Besant*, *Ducat*,[3] *Duckett*, or from sums of money. *Pound* is local, *Guinea* is an imitative spelling of the Irish Guiney, and *Shekell* is for *Shackle* (p. 170). *Shillingsworth* is local, the " worth," or homestead, of a man named Shilling. Cf. *Shillingshaw*, in which the second element

[1] See p. 130, *n*. Still, Robert Tymperon (*Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*) suggests an early form of " tambourine," used by Ben Jonson some centuries later. and *Timperon* is still a Cumberland name.

[2] Also *Thickpenny*, *Moneypenny* [William Manypeni, *Pat. R.*]. *Limpenny* is local, from Lympne (Kent).

[3] Shakespeare spelt the coin *ducket*, while *ducat* is a restored form. There is also a personal name *Duckett*, for Marmaduke, and another origin is " duck head " It is impossible to separate them.

may be *shaw*, a wood, or *haw*, an enclosure. The following medieval examples are instructive, though they do not tell us how the names were acquired—

Robert Alfmarck, now *Allmark, Hallmark*	(*Hund. R.*)
William Brodepeny	(*Writs of Parl.*)
Christiana Deudeners; cf. *Twopenny*	(*ib.*)
John Deumars	(*City A.*)
Richard Dismars, now *Dismore* (cf. *Sissmore* for "sis-mars")	(*Pat. R.*)
Roger Duzemars	(*Fine R.*)
John Fivepeni	(*Hund. R.*)
Thomas Godespeny	(*Close R.*)
John Halfpound	(*City E.*)
Thomas Mardargent	(*Fine R.*)
John Nynpenyz	(*Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*)
Osbert Oitdeniers (*huit deniers*)	(*Pipe R.*)
Gerard Quatremarc	(*Pat. R.*)
Thomas Quatresoz	(*City C.*)
Henry Quinzemars	(*Close R.*)
Richard Threeshillings	(*Pat. R.*)
Edmund Trentemars	(*City A.*)
Fulk Twelpenes	(*Hund. R.*)
Geoffrey Twentemarc	(*ib.*)
Cecily Treydeners	(*Pat. R.*)
Laurence Wytepens	(*ib.*)

With the last of these cf. the well-known Dutch name *Schimmelpeninck*. One can only guess at the various ways in which certain sums became associated with certain individuals. We know that Uncle Pumblechook had an irritating way of alluding to Pip as "six penn'orth of ha'pence," and that David Balfour was also temporarily nicknamed by Lady Allardyce—

"'O, so you're *Saxpence*!' she cried, with a very sneering manner. 'A braw gift, a bonny gentleman. And hae ye ony ither name and designation, or were ye bapteesed *Saxpence*?'"

The names in the above list seem to be nearly all extinct in England, though many of the same type are still found in France and Germany. But it seems likely that some of our number names are shortened from them. This can be seen in the case of Andrew Sixantwenti *alias* Vinte-sis-deners, i.e. twenty-six pence (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*). Thus the name *Eighteen*,[1] well established at Reading, may be short for "eighteen pence." Another possibility is that it represented the age of an ancestor; cf. Robert Quinzanz (*Chart. R.*). Pachnio has many examples from medieval Paris, e.g. Raoul iiij Deniers, Guillaume ix Deniers, Symon Quatuordecim, Jehan Quatre-Cenz, etc. In the last two examples the items may have been cows, sheep, etc.; cf. Robertus Quatuor Boum, Geffroi as ij Moutons (Pachnio). And there is a medieval Latin poem on a peasant known as Unusbos, a kind of Little Claus.

Among existing names of this form are *Two*, *Four*, *Six*, *Twelve*, *Twelves*, *Eighteen*, *Forty*, most of which are susceptible of another explanation. *Two* may be short for *Twoyearold* (p. 250), but is more probably local, of Tew (Oxf.). *Four* has two clear origins, other than the numeral, viz. Fr. *four*, an oven [Hugh de la Four, *Hund. R.*], and the archaic *fower*, a scavenger [John le Fower, *Fine R.*]. *Six* is for *Siggs*, short for one of the Anglo-Saxon names in *Sige-* [Ædric Sigge, *Pipe R.*]. *Twelve* is perhaps short for *Twelftree* or *Twelvetrees*, and *Forty*, *Fordy* is local [William dē la Fortheye, *Hund. R.*, Oxf.], apparently the island by the ford. In the *Hund. R.* are several examples from Oxfordshire, which is still the home of

[1] Cf. Fr. *Dixneuf* (Bottin).

the name. *Million* is probably the Fr. *Emilien,* from Émile, *Billion* belongs to Bill (p. 38). It is found in Norfolk, sometimes also as *Bullion*. *Milliard* is an artificial spelling of *Millard* [Robert le Milleward, *Hund. R.*]. *Unitt* or *Unite* seems to be a Welsh name [Unieth the cutler, *Glouc. Cart.*], possibly from Welsh *uniaith,* monoglot, of one language, a man who could not, like most of the borderers, speak both Welsh and English. Among ordinals of English origin I have only come across *Third,* which may be short for *Thirdborough,*[1] the peace-officer of a tithing, originally the head man of a frank-pledge or *frithborh,* from which latter word it is probably corrupted. In fact, the more correct *Freeborough* exists as a surname. But in French we find *Prin,*[2] *Prime, Premier, Second, Thiers, Tierce,* whence our own *Prin, Prynne, Pring, Print, Prime, Primmer* [Roger le Premier, *Pat. R.*], and *Tyers, Terse* [John Ters, *Leic. Bor. Rec.*]. The curious Lancashire name *Twiceaday, Twisaday* means " twice a day " [John Twysontheday, *Pat. R.*, Cumb. 1410], but remains mysterious.

Essentially connected with the individual are oath-names and other characteristic phrases. Here again we have sadly degenerated, and few of this type are now among us. We have *Pardoe, Pardy,* etc., from *pardieu, Mordue, Mordey,* from *mort-dieu, Dando* or *Daddow,* for *dent-Dieu*[3] [William Dandewe, *Archbp. Romayn's Reg.* 1286–96], and the rather Chadbandian

[1] With this cf. the synonymous name *Headborough*—" I must go fetch the *headborough* " (*Taming of the Shrew*, i. 12).

[2] *Prin, prime* are Old French forms from *primus,* still surviving in *printemps, prime-abord,* etc. The existence of the name *De la Pryme* suggests an alternative origin for *Prime*.

[3] Or possibly from OF. Damnedieu, Dominus Deus.

Godbehere, Goodbehere [Geoffrey Godbeherinne, *City B.*]. Some of the following still exist in a disguised form—

William Adieu[1]	(*Writs of Parl.*)
Robert Benedicite . . .	(*Exch. R.*)
Walter Corsant (*corps saint*) .	(*Hund. R.*)
Richard Coursedieu[2] . . .	(*Exch. R.*)
John Depardeu	(*Close R.*)
Simon Deudamur . . .	(*Chart. R.*)
Deudevize solus	(*Lib. Vit.*)
Deulacresse Judæus (*Dieu l'accroisse*)	(*Fine R.*)
Henry Deuleseit . . .	(*Hund. R.*)
Deulebeneye f. Chere . . .	(*Fine R.*)
Deulesaut (*Dieu le sauve*) Coc .	(*Pat. R.*)
Deulaie (*Dieu l'aide*) f. Elyas .	(*Close R.*)
Deusdedit, sixth Archbishop of Canterbury	
Roger Deus-salvet-Dominas[3] .	(*DB.*)
John Deutait	(*Pat. R.*)
Richus Deugard *or* Deuvusgard .	(*ib.*)
John Fadersoule. . . .	(*Chesh. Chamb. Accts*)
William Goddesbokes . . .	(*F. of Y.*)
Richard Godesname . . .	(*City B.*)
William Godespays . . .	(*Pat. R.*)
Olive Goadbles	(*Pat. R.*)
John Godsalve	(*Exch. Cal.*)
Basilia Godsowele . . .	(*Hund. R.*)
William Godthanke . . .	(*ib.*)
William Gracias	(*Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*)
Simon Halidom	(*ib.*)
William Helbogod . . .	(*Exch. R.*)
John Heylheyl	(*City B.*)
Ralph Modersoule . . .	(*Close R.*)
John Papedy (*pape-Dieu*) . .	(*Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*)
John Parfey	(*Pat. R.*)
William Placedeux (*plaise Dieu*) .	(*Lanc. Inq.*)
John Purdeu	(*Hund. R.*)

[1] Cf. *Farewell* [Richard Farewel, *Hund. R.*]

[2] For *corps Dieu*, but possibly a phrase-name (ch. xii.) for a man who had taken the advice given to Job by his wife. Cf. Adam Crusseking, i.e. curse-king (thirteenth century).

[3] With this early representative of "three cheers for the ladies" cf. Ger. Frauenlob, a Minnesinger and a cruiser.

It will be noticed that most of these are of French formation. *Pardy, Pardoe,* etc., are really distinct from *Purdy, Purdue,* etc., the first representing rather *de par Dieu,* i.e. *de parte Dei,* in God's name, as in modern French *de par le roi,* while *Purdue* is rather Fr. *pour Dieu.* Also the common *Pardoe, Pardow* has an alternative origin from OF., Pardou, for the personal name Pardolf. Deulaie (v.s.) may be the origin of *Duly.* Deugard has given *Dugard.* For *Godsave* see p. 316. Godsowele is one origin of *Godsall, Goodsell, Gutsell,* and Modersoule has become *Mothersole, Mothersill.* Parfey is now *Purefoy.*

Finally, we find in Middle English a number of nicknames evidently derived from the word or phrase which a man overworked. Most of us could quote similar cases within our own experience. Examples are—

Milo Ancoys, OF. *ansois,* rather	(*Hund. R.*)
Robert Autresy, OF. *autresi,* also	(*Pat. R.*)
Hugh Comment	(*Hund. R.*)
Michael Houyece, Ho yes ?	(*IpM., Notts*)
Robert Jodiben, *je dis bien*	(*Fine R.*)
William Jurdemayn, to-morrow !	(*Hund. R.*)
Hugh Oroendroyt, OF. *orendroit,* straightway	(*13th century*)
Peter Ouy	(*Pipe R.*)
David Paraventure	(*Pat. R.*)
Richard Pernegarde, *prends garde*	(*Exch. R.*)
Pagan Purquey, *pourquoi*	(*Hund. R.*)
John Recuchun, " I must slumber again "	(*Fine R.*)
Ralph Sachebien	(*Ramsey Cart.*)
William Wibien, *oui bien*	(*Pleas*)

These are practically all of French formation, and I cannot with certainty identify any of them with existing surnames. They are inserted here for the satisfaction

of students, as an example of the fantastic manner in which surnames can be formed, and as a caution against explaining everything odd as a "corruption." In the *Nottingham Borough Records* occurs the name of Elias Overandover. He may have been a man fond of wearisome iteration in speech, or with a penchant for turning somersaults, or of antique conscientiousness in the performance of the common task—

> "My godsire's name, I tell you,
> Was *In-and-In Shittle*, and a weaver he was,
> And it did fit his craft; for so his shittle
> Went in and in still, this way and then that way"
> (Ben Jonson, *Tale of a Tub*, iv. 2).

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CHAPTER IX

VEGETABLE NICKNAMES

"*Bot.* Your name, honest gentleman!
Peas. Peaseblossom.
Bot. I pray you, commend me to Mistress Squash, your mother, and to Master Peascod, your father"
(*Midsummer Night's Dream*).

VEGETABLE surnames may have come into existence in various ways. Tree names are generally local, and there is probably no well-known English tree which has not contributed to the list. Most of these present no difficulty, but occasionally dialect forms have prevailed, e.g. *Hamblock* for hemlock. We also find the obsolete *Beam*[1] [Osborn Atebeame, *Hund. R.*] and its compound *Nutbeam* [John atte Notebem, *ib.*]. Local also are such considerable growths as *Broom, Reed, Gorse, Furze, Fern*, etc., with their compounds such as *Thickbroom* [Richard de Thickbrome,[2] *Pleas.*], *Fearnside* [Nicholas del Fernyside, *Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4], *Redfern* [William del Redferne, *ib.*]. We may perhaps also suppose that two contiguous Johns whose huts were overgrown with ivy and jessamine

[1] "Not found later than Anglo-Saxon" (*NED.*). But the above example shows that the word survived into the Middle English period. We still have the compound ***hornbeam*** and others which are less common.

[2] This was a manor near Lichfield.

respectively may have been distinguished by the names *Ivy, Ivey,* and *Jessemey, Jessiman.*

The above are simple cases, but there are also a great many surnames taken from the vegetable world which can only be regarded as nicknames created by the mysterious medieval folk-lore of which we unfortunately know so little. We still sometimes describe a person as a daisy, and, in our more subtle moments, even as a tulip or a peach, while the quite modern nut, or more elaborate filbert, perhaps represents a recurrence of a long-dormant instinct inherited from far-off ancestors. Among surnames of this type we find the names of plants, flowers, fruits, vegetables, and also minute products and parts of vegetation. Here, as always, French and German parallels are abundantly numerous; while in Latin we find Cicero, Fabius, Lentulus, Piso, etc.

Plant itself is generally local [John de la Plaunt, of Rouen, *Pat. R.*], from OF. *plante,* enclosure, plantation, but its occurrence in the Rolls without *de* [Robert Plante, *Hund. R.*] suggests that it was also a nickname, from ME. *plant* used in a variety of senses, sprig, cudgel, young offspring (see *NED.*). We find all the important cereals, *Corn, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye.* The first seems to be genuine, perhaps for a peasant whose corn crops were particularly successful, or for one who lived among cornfields; cf. Fr. *Desbleds,* OF. *bled* (*blé*). It has a compound *Oldcorn,* whence also *Allcorn,* with which cf. Johanna Goldcorn (*Cal. Gen.*) and Robert Oldbene (*Hund. R.*). *Wheat* is more often one of the very numerous variants of the occupative *Wait,* a watchman; but cf. the common Fr. *Froment. Barley* is a local name and

also a variant of Barlow, but *Desorges* is a French surname.

Oates is generally the Old French nominative of Odo, Otto [Otes de Houlond, *City F.*], but cf. Fr. *Alavoine*. *Rye* is generally local, but the corresponding *Seigle* is a common French surname. In each of these, therefore, a double origin is possible, while a local derivation is also not excluded. *Maize* is an imitative spelling of *Mayes*, from *May*, which has various origins (p. 248). *Grain* is usually a nickname, OF. *grain*, morose [1] [Dominus Johannes *dictus* le Greyne, *Nott. Bor. Rec.*]. *Drage, Dredge, Drudge* are dialect names for a mixed crop, especially of rye and wheat. From its more usual name, *mestlyon*, comes *Maslin*, though this has also another origin, from a Middle English personal name Mazelin, probably, like Fr. *Massillon*, from Thomas [Mazelin de Rissebi, *Hund. R.*]—

"*Metail*, messling, or *maslin*; wheat and rye mingled, sowed, and used together" (Cotg.).

Millett is a dim. of Miles or Millicent. *Hardmeat* might be taken for a local "hard mead," the more so because *Meat, Meates* are for Mead, but William Hardmete (*Hund. R.*) shows it to be a nickname from the obsolete *hard-meat*, used of corn and hay, as food for cattle, contrasted with grass. No doubt *Greengrass* has a similar origin. *Grist* is for *Grice*, with excrescent *-t*;

[1] A very interesting chapter could be written on nicknames from Old French adjectives which have survived in England. Examples are *Tardew*, OF. *tardieu* (*tardif*), used also as a name for the snail, *Vesey, Vaisey, Voysey*, etc., OF. *envoisi*, playful, AF. *enveisé* [William le Enveysé, *Hund. R.*], *Miskin*, F. *mesquin*, paltry, etc.

cf. *Moist* for Moyes, i.e. Moses, and *Twist* for *Twiss* (p. 82). *Grice* itself has two origins, Fr. *gris*, grey, and ME. *grice*, a pig.

Among plants that have given surnames we notice that the odorous, pungent, and medicinal varieties predominate, probably because they lent themselves more readily to emblematic use. It is known that magical properties were ascribed to many of them. We have, among medicinal plants, *Skirrett, Camamile, Tansey, Spurge, Staveacre, Bettany, Rue.* The last two are doubtful. *Bettany*, found in Staffordshire along with *Betteley*, is probably from Betley in that county, and *Rue*, which runs parallel with *Rew* in Wiltshire, may be AF. *rew*, street, Fr. *rue*. Still, both these plants have a good deal of folk-lore about them, e.g. according to Burton, the Emperor Augustus regarded betony as efficacious for the expulsion of devils, while Shakespeare's allusions to rue, the herb of grace, are numerous. But, rather than attempt an explanation of each name in detail, I will refer the reader to that very charming lecturer, Perdita (*Winter's Tale*, IV. iv.). *Staveacre* is for *stavesacre*, which, in spite of its English appearance, is almost pure Greek. It was an emetic and a remedy against vermin. With these go also *Buglass* (p. 175), and probably *Sidwell, Sitwell* [Thomas Sitwele, *Pat. R.*], from *sedwall*, once regularly coupled with ginger and other spices—

> "And he hymself as sweete as is the roote
> Of lycorys, or any *cetewale*"
>
> (Chauc. A. 3206).

Here generally belongs *Ambrose*, common as a medieval surname, but rather rare as a font-name [William

Ambroys, *Hund. R.*, Richard Ambrosie, *ib.*]. It was used of the wild sage—

"*Ambrose* an herbe, *ache champestre*" (Palsg.).

And it is very likely that *Alexander* [1] or *Saunders* is often to be classed with it. This was a common name for the horse-parsley—

"*Alysaundere*, herbe, *macedonia*" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

For an example of *saundres*, coupled with *brazill* (p. 189), see the epigraph to ch. xii.

I observe that Herr v. *Wermuth* is (Nov. 1915) Burgomaster of Berlin, and *Wormwood* is given as a surname by Camden, though I do not know if it now exists—

"*Wermuth*, ein bitter kraut, *wormwood*" (Ludwig, *Germ. Dict.*, 1716).

Darnell, tares [William Dernel, *Glouc. Cart.*], was considered to produce intoxication; cf. its French name, *ivraie*. With *Weeds* cf. Fr. *Malherbe*, *Malesherbes*, and Ger. *Unkraut*. *Balsam* is local [Robert de Balsam, *Hund. R.*], of Balsham (Camb.), and the Yorkshire *Balm* is a corruption of Balne in that county.

More associated with the kitchen are *Mustard*, *Garlick*, *Ginger*, *Pepper*, *Parsley*, *Marjoram*, *Fennell*, *Savory*, the last of which is an imitative spelling of *Savary*, *Saffrey*, etc. [Savaricus Clericus, *Pipe R.*,

[1] Another source of this common surname is no doubt to be found in the romances of Alexander and their dramatic adaptations (p. 216). Speaking generally, when a surname seems to represent a font-name in its unaltered form, it has a subsidiary origin, e.g. *Arnold*, *Harrold*, *Rowland* are all sometimes local, from Arnold (Notts and Yorks), Harrold (Beds), and "roe-land" [Peter de Rolond, *Pat. R.*].

Savari de Duntrop, *Fine R.*]. I have even found it spelt *Savoury*. Sometimes such names may have been adopted in place of cumbrous trade-names, such as Thomas le Mustarder (*City B.*), John Garlekemongere (*IpM.*). So also *Brazil, Brazell* may be from the vegetable dye which gave its name to a South American country and a medieval trade [Robert Blund, brasiler, *Leic. Bor. Rec.*]; cf. Adam Saffran (*Pat. R.*). *Pepper* may also be shortened from *Pepperell*, the latinized form, Piperellus (*DB.*), of *Peverel*, which does not, however, dissociate it from pepper. *Pepperwell* is a curious corruption of the above name. The OF. *peyvre, peyvrier,* very common in the Rolls [Paulin Peyvre, *Chart. R.*, John le Peverer, *Pat. R.*], are now represented by *Peever, Peffer*. *Fennell* is undoubtedly from the plant, Fr. *fenouil* [William Feneyl, *Pat. R.*], though it has other possible origins. It was an emblem of flattery—

> "Woman's weeds, *fennel* I mean for flatterers"
> (Greene, *Upstart Courtier*).

Parsley might be a variant of *Paslow* (q.v.), but the corresponding Ger. *Petersilje* is found c. 1300.

Flower-names, such as Jasmin, Lafleur, were often given to valets in French comedy, and later on we find them among soldiers, as in the case of Fanfan la Tulipe. Much further back we find the romantic story of Flore and Blancheflour and the German Dornröschen. The reader will naturally think of Chaucer's Prioress—

> "And she was cleped madame Eglentyne" (Prol. 121).

To begin with, we have *Flower* [Elyas Flur, *Fine R.*],

Bloom [William Blome, *Pat. R.*], *Blossom* [Hugh Blosme, *Hund. R.*]—

> " The braunches ful of *blosmes* softe "
> (Chauc. *Legend of Good Women*, 143).

With these cf. James Beauflour (*Close R.*). *Flower* has an alternative origin from ME. *floer*, arrow-smith [John le Floer, *Hund. R.*]. The commonest of such names, *Rose*, has several origins. It is baptismal [Richard f. Rose, *Hund. R.*], from a name which may come from the flower or from Rosamond (p. 34), a sign-name [Adam de la Rose, *City B.*, Adam atte Rose, *City D.*], and is often imitative from the local *Row* or perhaps *Wroe* [William of the Rows, *Northampt. Bor. Rec.*, Simon ithe Rose, *Pat. R.*, Yorks.]. *Lilley*, *Lilly* is sometimes from the font-name Lilian, of doubtful origin [Geoffrey Lilion, *Hund. R.*, Nicholas Lillie, *ib.*], and has specific local origins. It must also be a sign-name, though I have found no early example. The name *Lilygreen*, which has occurred in the casualty lists, is probably Swedish Liliengren (see p. 195). With James Popy (*Hund. R.*), still found as *Poppy*, cf. Thomas Coklico (*Pat. R.*)—

> " *Coquelicoq*, the wild poppie, corne-rose, red corne-rose " (Cotg.).

Fr. *Pavot* and Ger. *Mohn*, *Mohnkopf* are also well-established names.

The latter, meaning " poppy head," suggests a short digression on the possibility of some names of this class having originated in a fanciful resemblance. I imagine that *Mohnkopf* [1] may have been applied to a

[1] The seventeenth-century German epigrammatist Logau uses it of an empty, sleepy head—

" Capito hat Kopfs genug, wenig aber hat er Sinnen ;
Wie ein *Mohnkopf* lauter Schlaf, sonsten hat er nichts darinnen."

bald-headed man, just as we find, conversely, the field poppy called in German dialect *Glatzen* (*Glatze*, a bald pate). We know that *pill-garlic*, i.e. peeled garlic, was used in the same way in English—

> "Your *pyllyd garleke* hed
> Cowde hoccupy there no stede"
>
> (Skelton).

So *Onion, Onions*, usually, as a Shropshire name, from the Welsh *Anyon, Ennion, Eynon*, etc. (*anian*, nature, genius), is also a nickname [Roger Oygnoun, *Lond. Wills*, 1295]. Cf. Albert Chive (*Pipe R.*) and William Chiboulle (*Chart. R.*), the latter from ME. *chibol*, an onion, still in dialect use—

> "*Ciboule*, a *chiboll*, or hollow leek" (Cotg.).

The first *Sweetapple* [John Swetapple, *Fine R.*] may have been a cultivator of particularly choice fruit, but his name reminds me strongly of a schoolboy of my acquaintance whose unconsciously sardonic expression earned for him the name Sour Plum. *Mosscrop*, an archaic name for the tufted club-rush, may have been suggested by the combination of a thin body and a shock head.

To come back to flower-names, we have *Daisy* [Robert Dayeseye, *Hund. R.*], *Primrose* [Peter Premerole,[1] *Pat. R.*], *Marigold, Pimpernell, Columbine* or *Collingbine*, while Dandelyon, still found in America,[2] was a Kentish name up to the middle of the fifteenth century. Thomas Eglentyn and Peter Parvenk (periwinkle)

[1] This is the older form, the modern *-rose* being due to folk-etymology.

[2] But, like all American names, to be regarded with caution

See p. 9.

occur in the *Pat. R.* Each of these no doubt has a tale to tell. *Violet* is probably a colour nickname (p. 154). *Lavender*, usually occupative, the *Launder*, or "washerman," may also occasionally be a nickname [John Lavender, taillur, *Pat. R.*]. *Galliver, Gilliver*, are from ME. *gilofre* [Peter Gylofre, *Leic. Bor. Rec.*], now corrupted to *gillyflower*,[1] a flower emblematic of frailty. I fancy that this is due to association with Queen Guinevere, from whose name we get *Junifer, Juniper*.[2] The *MDB.* contains the name *Rosontree*, but the locality (Yorks) suggests a misprint for *Rowntree* (rowan tree, mountain ash). The first *Woodbine* was perhaps named from his clinging propensities, but we can hardly accept *Tulip*, the first mention of the flower by a Western European being about the middle of the sixteenth century (*NED.*). It is evidently an imitative spelling, but of what?

Fruit-names may also in some cases be local, e.g. *Plumb* may be for *Plumtree, Pear* for *Peartree*. But in Old French we often find them used with the definite article in such a way as to suggest a nickname, e.g. Raoul la Prune, Gautier la Poire (Pachnio), the latter individual perhaps having a head of the shape which earned the nickname Poire for the last legitimate king of France, and which suggested the medieval "pear head" (p. 128), now *Perrett*. These examples show that *Pear, Pears* is not always an imitative spelling

[1] The following extract (1683) is a good example of "preposterous" etymology—"The *Julyflower* as they are more properly called, though vulgarly *Gilliflower* and *Gillofer*." This is like "June-eating" for *jenneting*.

[2] Junipher was still common as a font-name in Cornwall in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Bardsley). It is curious that in dialect the juniper is sometimes called the *genifer* (*EDD.*).

of Fr. *Pierre*. So also in English we find William le Cheris[1] (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*), who is perhaps the same person as William Chirecod (*ib.*), with whose name cf. *Peascod* (p. 196). But many apparent fruit-names are not genuine. *Grapes* may be from an inn-sign, but is more likely connected with *Grepe* (p. 61), *Raisin* is an imitative form of *Rayson* (p. 239), and *Muscat* is an imitative alteration of *Muskett*, a nickname from the sparrow-hawk—

" *Mouchet*, a *musket* ; the tassell[2] of a sparhawke " (Cotg.).

The oldest form of *damson* is *damascene*, from Damascus. Hence the name *Damson* is probably the " dame's son " [Geoffrey Dammesune, *Pipe R.*]. *Pippin* is Fr. Pépin, whence also the East Anglian *Pepys* [Richard Pepin *or* Pepis, *Hund. R.*, Camb.], and, as a Somerset name, is altered from *Phippen*, dim. of Philip, which is common in the same county. It may also be a fruit-name ; cf. *Costard* (p. 194). *Medlar* is a nickname [William le Mesler,[3] *Hund. R.*]. *Filbert* is simply the French name Philibert [Dominus Fylbard, *Hund. R.*], OG. *Filuberht*, very bright, whence the nut also probably takes its name.[4] *Dewberry* is local, of Dewsbury, spelt Deubire in 1202, but *Mulberry*,

[1] The older form of *cherry*, Fr. *cerise*. The *-s* has been lost through being taken as the sign of the plural, as in *pea* from *pease*. It is possible, however, that *le Cheris* may be the Old French nom. of *chéri*, " the cherished." This *-s* does not appear much in Anglo-French, but there are other examples of it in the same record as the above. See *Bew* (p. 319).

[2] Hence the surnames *Tassell, Tarsell, Taycell*. The older form of the word was *tiercel*. See *Romance of Names*, p. 221.

[3] For the intrusion of *-d-* in our *meddle* from OF. *mesler* (*mêler*) cf. *Madle* (p. 250), *Idle* (p. 64).

[4] See *Romance of Words*, p. 35.

Mulbry appears to be genuine. *Orange* is doubtful, for, though Richard Orenge (*Archbp. Peckham's Lett.* 1279–92) points to a nickname, Orangia de Chercheyerd, who was hanged in 1307 (*Cal. Gen.*), suggests a fantastic personal name, which must apparently have been formed from that of the fruit. There is also the town of Orange (Vaucluse), but I have found no evidence to connect the name with it. The name *Raspberry* is found in East Anglia, and, although the *NED.* does not record the word till the seventeenth century, the name may be genuine, for French has both *Framboise* and *Framboisier*—

" *Framboise*, a raspis, hindberry, framboiseberry " (Cotg.).

Mellon is Irish, I suppose for *Malone*, i.e. the tonsured servant of John. *Costard* is a very common Middle English nickname, perhaps for a round-headed man ; hence also *Coster, Custer, Custard.*

A few kitchen-garden names have already been mentioned, but the group is not large. *Bean* is usually Scottish, Gael. *ban*, white, whence *Bain*, but this will not account for the common Norfolk name *Beanes*, occurring as Bene in the *Hund. R.* The bean seems to have been a favourite crop in East Anglia, e.g. in the *Ramsey Cartulary* there is mention of plots called Benecroft, Benedale, Benemede, Benehill, Benefurlange ; cf. Barton-in-Fabis (Notts), Barton-in-the-Beans (Leic.). I see no reason to doubt that Eustace Sparaguz (*Fine R.*) took his name from the most delicate of vegetables. *Pease* is also genuine, but *Pea*,[1] *Pee* is for Peacock as *Poe* is for Pocock. From

[1] See p. 193, *n.* 1.

the same bird, AS. *pawa*, we have *Paw*, *Pay*, *Pow*, *Poye*—

"Gold, and sylver, and yver, and apis, and *poos*" (Wyc. 2 *Chron.* ix. 21).

An apparently authentic nickname of the vegetable type is *Neap*, *Neep* [Henry le Nep, *Hund. R.*], which is Middle English for "turnip." It is seldom that so clear an instance is found in the Rolls. Cf. Ameline la Navete (Pachnio)—

"*Navette*, rapeseed; also, as *naveau*."
"*Naveau blanc de jardin*, the ordinary rape, or turnep" (Cotg.).

The most curious of the vegetable surnames are those which are formed from botanical details, and here again I can make little attempt to explain their occurrence. Similar names are common in other languages, and Swedish especially has a very large number in *-gren*, branch, *-quist*,[1] twig, *-blad*, leaf. *Twigg* has parallels in Fr. *Rameau* and Ger. *Zweig*, the latter also having compounds, e.g. *Mittenzweig*, with the twig, and *Sauberzweig*, clean twig, the name of an officer mentioned (*Daily Telegraph*, Nov. 2, 1915) in connection with the murder of Nurse Cavell, and evidently, if there is anything in heredity, originally ironic. Both *Spray* and *Sprigg* are used in dialect of a lean, lanky person; cf. p. 155. In English we have also *Branch* [Benjamin Branche, *Hund. R.*] occurring very commonly without *de*, though John de la Braunche (*F. of Y.* 1451) suggests local origin, or per-

[1] In the casualty lists (Jan. 19, 1916) occurs the name *Applequist*, evidently of Swedish origin.

haps a sign. *Branchflower* is an alteration [1] of the nickname *Blanchflower*. *Bough* is local [John atte Bough, *Pat. R.*], in the sense of *Bow*, arch, with which it is really identical.[2] *Budd* is an Anglo-Saxon personal name, short for Botolf or some such dithemetic name, and *Leaf* is an imitative spelling of *Leif*, dear [John le Lef, *Pat. R.*]; cf. *Leveson*, which, in the form Leofsunu (see Fr. *Cherfils*, p. 247), was already a personal name in Anglo-Saxon. With *Ivyleaf* cf. Ger. *Kleeblatt*, clover leaf, and *Rosenblatt*, whence, or perhaps through one of the Scandinavian languages, our *Roseblade*. Hoccleve is more probably a complete plant-name, AS. *hoclef*, mallow. *Sapp* is a nickname [William le Sap, *Hund. R.*]. In dialect it means a simpleton, cf. *saphead*, *sapskull*, but its history is unwritten.

Then we have fantastic names like *Goldstraw*, *Peppercorn*, *Barleycorn*, the last-named once common as *grain d'orge* [William Greindeorge, *Hund. R.*], now *Grandage*, *Graddige*. *Graindorge* is still a common French surname. With *Peascod* [Henry Pesecod, *Pat. R.*], *Pescott*, *Peasegood*, *Peskett*, *Bisgood* (?), cf. *Benskin* (bean-skin) and Maddy Benestol (*Hund. R.*) whose name contains dial. *stale*, a stalk. But *Podd*, also *Poad*, *Poat*, is a nickname from ME. *pode*, a toad [John le Pod, *Hund. R.*]. I doubt whether *Seed* (see p. 73) belongs here, but *Hempseed* is an uncomplimentary nickname—

"Do, do, thou rogue; do, thou *hempseed*" (2 *Henry IV.* II. i.);

[1] It could be explained as dissimilation, but there is a general tendency for *l* and *r* to interchange. See the forms of Berenger (p. 35). *Branchett* is no doubt for *Blanchett*, a colour name, and Mr. Pett Ridge's less refined characters occasionally used "brasted" as an intensive epithet.

[2] It is only in English that this word, meaning something bent, has acquired a meaning connected with trees.

though the only time I have come across it was in connection with a gallant exploit in the War. Cf. Ger. *Hanfstengel*, hemp-stalk. Our *Hempenstall* is merely one of the many variants of Heptonstall (Yorks). In *Lillicrap, Lillycrop* we seem to have the archaic *crop*, "head" of a plant, or tree, bunch of foliage, etc.; cf. *Mosscrop* and Ger. *Mohnkopf*. Gower uses it in his version of the famous scene in which Tarquin strikes off the heads of the tallest plants—

> "Anon he tok in honde a yerde
> And in the gardin as thei gon,
> The *lilie croppes* on and on,
> Wher that thei weren sprongen oute,
> He smot of, as thei stode aboute"
> (*Conf. Amant.* vii. 4676).

With the poetical *Flowerdew*, whence *Flowerday*, cf. Robert Honiedewe (*Salisb. Chart.*) and Ger. *Morgenthau*, morning dew. *Maydew* is for Matthew, and preserves the intermediate form between the original and *Mayhew, Mayo*, OF. Mahieu. *Merridew, Merriday, Merredy* are the Welsh Meredith [Mereduz de Beauveir, *City D.*]. They are further corrupted in Lancashire into *Melladew, Mellalieu, Mellalue.*

In my *Romance of Words* (p. 196) I have mentioned Ferguson's conjecture as to the curious name *Ivimey, Ivermee, Evamy, Efemey*,[1] etc. I am afraid the picturesque derivation there suggested will not hold water. In *City A.* I find Peter Yvenes *or* Yvemeys, a Spanish immigrant. I do not know the origin of his name, but he looks like the true ancestor of the *Ivimeys.*

[1] The two last may represent Euphemia.

CHAPTER X

PAGEANT NAMES

" Il y avoit lors une dame, qui, pendant les jeux, avoit joué *Conscience*, et qui pour cela en eut le nom tout le temps de sa vie "
(BÉROALDE DE VERVILLE, *Le Moyen de parvenir*).

IT has always been recognized by students of surname lore that our *Prophets, Priests,* and *Kings* generally owe their names to ancestors who had enacted such parts in medieval pageant [1]; but this source of modern surnames is much more considerable than has usually been supposed. Grown people are almost as fond of " dressing up " as children, and in recent years we have seen a revival of the type of pastime once so dear to our ancestors and still popular on the continent. Some twenty years ago the author was present at the elaborate display by which the Swiss celebrated the seventh centenary of their Republic. On that occasion it looked as though the whole able-

[1] The *pageant* was originally the scaffolding on which the players stood or acted. In the case of the shorter plays and smaller tableaux it was movable. In fact the cars of Lord Mayor's Show are its descendants—" Every company had his pagient, which pagiants weare a high scafolde with two rowmes, a higher and a lower, upon four wheeles. In the lower they appareled themselves, and in the higher rowme they played, beinge all open on the tope, that all behoulders might heare and see them " (From a contemporary description of one of the last Chester performances).

bodied population were parading in historic garb for the edification of the physically unfit and the children of the country. In medieval England no important feast of the Church, no event in the life of the monarch, or, in the provinces, of the local magnate, no visit of a foreign dignitary, was allowed to pass without the accompaniment of something like a Lord Mayor's Show—

"One other show, in the year 1377, made by the citizens for disport of the young prince, Richard, son to the Black Prince, in the feast of Christmas, in this manner:—On the Sunday before Candlemas, in the night, one hundred and thirty citizens, disguised, and well horsed, in a mummery, with sound of trumpets, sackbuts, cornets, shalmes, and other minstrels, and innumerable torch lights of wax, rode from Newgate, through Cheape, over the bridge, through Southwarke, and so to Kennington, beside Lambhith, where the young prince remained with his mother, and the Duke of Lancaster his uncle. . . . In the first rank did ride forty-eight in the likeness and habit of esquires, two and two together, clothed in red coats and gowns of say or sandal, with comely visors on their faces; after them came riding forty-eight knights in the same livery of colour and stuff; then followed one richly arrayed like an emperor; and after him some distance, one stately attired like a pope, whom followed twenty-four cardinals, and after them eight or ten with black visors, not amiable, as if they had been legates from some foreign prince" (Stow).

There are possibly to-day people named *Squire, Knight, Emperor* [1] or *Cayzer, Pope, Cardinall, Leggatt,* whose ancestors figured in this particular procession.

Two names of this class may be specially mentioned, the first, *Count* [Peter le Counte, *Fine R.*], because of its rarity, the second, *Marquis,* because, though so common in the north, it seems unrecorded except as a female font-name [Marchisa f. Warner, *Yorks Fines,*

[1] Still a surname in the nineteenth century, though I have not come across a living example.

temp. John]. It is rather odd to find the German equivalent recorded for the same county [William Margrayve, *F. of* Y.]. *Lavicount* is an example of the grammatical methods of Anglo-French.

Such a procession as that described above was a very mild affair compared with some of the more scenic pageants which were enacted on great occasions—

"At certain distances, in places appointed for the purpose, the pageants were erected, which were temporary buildings representing castles, palaces, gardens, rocks or forests, as the occasion required, where nymphs, fauns, satyrs, gods, goddesses, angels and devils appeared in company with giants, savages, dragons, saints, knights, buffoons, and dwarfs, surrounded by minstrels and choristers; the heathen mythology, the legends of chivalry and Christian divinity were ridiculously jumbled together without meaning" (Strutt).

Then we have the popular games and representations associated with church festivals, the boy "*Bishop*," the "*Pope*" of Fools, the "*Lord*" of Misrule, the "*Abbot*" of Unreason, the bull-baitings, archery contests, joustings, running at the quintain, the May games with their Robin Hood pageants, the rough horseplay of the Hockday sports, of which the chief feature, the binding of men by women and *vice-versa*, perhaps survives in the names *Tieman* and *Bindlass*, *Bindloss*. It is quite possible that *Peacock*, *Pocock*, and *Popjoy*, *Pobjoy*, *Pobgee*, *Popejoy* may have been in some cases nicknames conferred on successful athletes—

"In the year of Christ 1253, the 38th of Henry III., the youthful citizens, for an exercise of their activity, set forth a game to run at the quinten; and whoever did best should have a *peacock* which they had prepared as a prize" (Stow).

Shooting at the *popinjay*, a wooden figure of a parrot set up as a mark, is often mentioned, not only by English writers, but also by Rabelais. Of course these two names may also come from signs, or they may be nicknames due to some characteristic of the original bearer [1]; but the following is suggestive—

" *Papegay*, a parrot, or popingay ; also, a woodden parrot (set up on the top of a steeple, high tree, or pole) whereat there is, in many parts of France, a generall shooting once every yeare ; and an exemption for all that yeare, from *la taille*, obtained by him that strikes downe the right wing thereof, (who is therefore tearmed *Le Chevalier* ;) and by him that strikes downe the left wing, (who is tearmed *Le Baron* ;) and by him that strikes down the whole popingay (who for that dexteritie or good hap hath also the title of *Roy du Papegay*,) all the yeare following " (Cotg.).

Most important of all, perhaps, from the surname point of view, is the medieval drama, with its long and detailed representations of the most important episodes from the Old and New Testaments and from the lives of the Saints. In these performances the

[1] The origin of bird nicknames would repay study. In some cases no doubt they were due to some external feature, but most of them are probably connected with the qualities, invariably bad, which folklore symbolised in certain birds. The *Peacock* personified vanity, the *Woodcock*, according to popular superstition, had no brains, the *Capon* and *Daw* were both fools, the *Buzzard* was a type of ignorance, and so on. Most interesting of all is the woodpecker, whose many dialect names (*Speight, Speck, Pick, Rainbird*, etc.) nearly all exist as surnames. Now the woodpecker, a retiring and inconspicuous bird, has none of the prominent characteristics which make *Jay, Nightingale, Crane, Goose*, etc., such natural nicknames. His place in the surname list is due to an unconsciously persisting myth which is perhaps older than Genesis and Olympus. See Rendel Harris, *The Place of the Woodpecker in Religion* (*Contemporary Review*, Feb. 1916). On the general characteristics which medieval folklore ascribed to various birds we get some light in Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* and Skelton's *Philip Sparrow*.

number of actors was often enormous, and the spectacle was prolonged for days or even weeks—

"The miracle plays in Chaucer's days were exhibited during the season of Lent, and sometimes a sequel of scripture histories was carried on for several days. In the reign of Richard II. the parish clerks of London put forth a play at Skinner's Wells, near Smithfield, which continued three days. In the succeeding reign another play was acted at the same place and lasted eight days; this drama began with the creation of the world and contained the greater part of the Old and New Testament. . . . Beelzebub seems to have been the principal comic actor, assisted by his merry troop of underdevils. . . . When the mysteries ceased to be played, the subjects for the drama were not taken from historical facts, but consisted of moral reasonings in praise of virtue and condemnation of vice, on which account they were called moralities. The dialogue was carried on by allegorical characters such as good doctrine, charity, faith, prudence, discretion, death, and the like, and their discourses were of a serious cast; but the province of making the spectators merry descended from the devil in the mystery to the vice or iniquity of the morality, who usually personified some bad quality incident to human nature, as pride and lust" (Strutt).

Now most of us have within our experience cases of nicknames conferred in connection with private theatricals and fancy-dress balls, and it is easy to believe that, at a period when the surname was not a fixed quantity, distinction in some piece of acting or buffoonery may have often earned for the performer a sobriquet which stuck. I do not mean to say that all the names I am about to enumerate belong with certainty, or exclusively, to this class, but I think that in the case of most of them there is a strong presumption for such an origin. To go thoroughly into the question would involve a close study of the medieval drama,[1] and a much more intimate

[1] See E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage* (Oxf. 1903). Some characteristic plays and extracts will be found in Pollard's *English Miracle Plays*, 6th ed. (Oxf. 1914).

knowledge of the history of pageantry, than can be gleaned from the popular account of Strutt. The reader who cares to look through the long lists of *dramatis personæ* in the Chester, Coventry, Towneley, and York plays, will see that there is hardly a name in this chapter which cannot be illustrated, or at least paralleled, from those collections.

The whole question also has a psychological aspect. The rise of allegory and the flourishing of the drama are connected with the awakening consciousness of the people as a whole. It was a somewhat dull, prosaic awakening, showing itself in a realistic, bludgeon-wielding type of satire and a homely morality, and, from the surname point of view, in a striving after a name that meant something to its bearer. We see something of this spirit in the nomenclature adopted by Jack Straw and his followers. The following proclamation is contemporary with John Ball—

"John Schepe, some time St. Mary's priest of York, and now of Colchester, greeteth well John Nameless and John the Miller and John the Carter, and biddeth them that they beware of guile in borough, and stand together in God's name, and biddeth Piers Plowman go to his work, and chastise well Hob the Robber (Robert Hales, the Treasurer) and all his fellows, and no mo, and look that ye shape you to one head and no mo."

And as late as the reign of Henry VII. rebellious peasants revived these old names which symbolized their condition in life and their aspirations—

"Taking Robyn of Riddesdale, Jack Straw, Thomolyn at Lath[1] and Maister Mendall for their capteyns" (*Letter of Henry VII.*).

To the same attitude of mind belong many of the phrase-names dealt with in ch. xii., and their

[1] ME. *lathe*, a barn.

descent can be traced through the Elizabethans and the Restoration dramatists via Smollett and Fielding to the modern novelists. For even Dickens, sumptuous as is his collection of genuine surnames, occasionally descends to such stuff as Veneering and Verisopht—

"A curious essay might be written on the reasons why such names as Sir John Brute, Sir Tunbelly Clumsy, Sir Peter Teazle, Sir Anthony Absolute, Sir Lucius O'Trigger, Lord Foppington, Lord Rake, Colonel Bully, Lovewell, Heartfree, Gripe, Shark, and the rest were regarded as a matter of course in the 'comedy of manners.' . . . The fashion of label-names, if we may call them so, came down from the Elizabethans, who, again, borrowed it from the medieval moralities" (William Archer, *Play-Making*).

The surnames which may with more or less certainty be connected with medieval spectacles fall into several groups. Many Old Testament names such as *Adam* and *Eve, Abel, David, Solomon* or *Salmon, Sampson, Jonas,*[1] etc., no doubt sometimes belong here. Geoffrey Golias[2] or Gullias (*Hund. R.*) has a modern representative in *Gullyes* and *Gully* [William Golye, *Hund. R.*]. The form Golie is used by Wyclif. From ME. *Goliard,* a satiric poet or jester, popularly connected with Golias, we have *Gullard* [John Goliard, *Close R.*, John le Golert, *Derby Cart.* 1353], of which *Gullett* is the regular reduction. I have seldom found Solomon as a medieval font-name, while William *dictus* Salamon (*Lond. Wills,* 1287) is a clear case

[1] Was the original *Whalebelly* a piece of realistic mechanism in a Jonah pageant? One has heard of the pantomime actor who earned his bread as the left hind-leg of an elephant—

> "In this same interlude, it doth befall
> That I, one Snout by name, present a wall"
> (*Midsummer Night's Dream,* V. i).

[2] The Middle English form of Goliath, found also in Shakespeare.

of a nickname. *Pharaoh*,[1] *Pharro* is explained by Bardsley as a corruption of *Farrow*. It is more likely that the latter is corrupted from Pharaoh, a very spectacular personage; but the Scotch surname *Ptolomey* evidently belongs to Bartholomew; cf. Fr. *Tholomié*. A particularly interesting name is *Absolom*, not uncommon as a modern surname and with a number of disguised variants. We know from Chaucer that this was a nickname for a man with a fine head of hair—

> "Now was ther of that chirche a parissh clerk,
> The which that was y-cleped *Absolon*;
> Crul was his heer and as the gold it shoon,
> And strouted as a fanne, large and brode"
>
> (Chauc. A. 3312).

This became, by a common metathesis, Aspelon [Adam Absolon *or* Apsolon *or* Aspelon, *City B.*], whence *Aspenlon*, *Asplin*. The local-looking *Aspland* is the same name with spurious *-d* [John Apspelond, *City E.*] and *Ashplant* is an imitative spelling.

A doubtful case is *Pottiphar*, explained by Bardsley as an imitative corruption of *Pettifer* (p. 141). It may be from an Old Testament play, for although Potiphar himself plays no part in history, we can hardly imagine that the medieval drama would omit to put his wife upon the scene, and for the audience she would be Mrs. Potiphar. Cf. James Dalileye (*Close R.*), who presumably played Delilah in another highly dramatic Biblical scene.

But many names which might appear to belong to this class are deceptive. *Shadrake* is an alteration of the bird nickname *Sheldrake*, *Ogg* is not the King of

[1] Pharao Kircke was buried at Repton, Dec. 1, 1602.

Bashan, but AS. Ocga or Ogga, shortened from some such name as Ocgweald, AS. *oga*, terror, *Leah* is a form of the local *Lea*, and *Rachell* comes via Fr. *Rachilde* from OG. Raghild, for which see *Regin* and *Hild* in ch. ii. Some Welsh surnames, such as *Jeremiah*, *Matthias*, *Mordecai*, belong to the later name-creation with which the modern Welsh have replaced their *Aps*. Perhaps in some cases such names were substituted for Welsh names of somewhat similar sound, just as Jeremiah was adopted in Ireland for Diarmid. This would seem to be the explanation of *Enock*, which is spelt Egenoc in the *Gloucester Cartulary*. The Suffolk name *Balaam* is an alteration of the local *Baylham*, from a village in that county, but Robert Balaam (*Pat. R.*, Cornwall) suggests also a nickname. *Jermy* is not from Jeremy, but from *Jermyn*,[1] with which it runs parallel in Norfolk. *Noah* was an important character in the old drama and the popular form of the name was *Noy*, whence *Noyes*, *Noyce*. The Chester play of *Noah's Flood* ends with the lines—

> "My blessinge, *Noye*, I geve thee heare,
> To thee, *Noye*, my servant deare;
> For vengance shall no more appeare,
> And now fare well, my darlinge deare!"

Saul, *Sawle*, generally for Fr. *Salle*, *Lasalle*, is another possible case. This is necessarily guess-work, but it is noticeable that the Biblical names which occur commonly as surnames are invariably connected with those episodes in Old Testament history which were

[1] This is Fr. *Germain*, from Germanus, used as a personal name, but Gilbert le German (*Pat. R.*) and *Jermany*, *Jarmany* point also to local origin.

constantly dramatized for edification. I have seen somewhere, but failed to make a note of, a vaguely spelt ME. Nebuchadnezzar.

From the New Testament we have *Herod* [Seman Herodes, *Pat. R.*] and *Pillatt*[1] [Alan Pilate, *Pleas*]. The character of Herod as a stage braggart was familiar to Shakespeare—

"I would have such a fellow whipped for o'erdoing Termagant; it out-herods Herod" (*Hamlet*, iii. 2).

With this cf. Jordan Travagan (*Lib. R.*), for Tervagant, the earlier form of Termagant. The following excerpt from the sums paid in 1490 to the Coventry smiths who acted the Passion reads oddly—

"Imprimis to God, ijs; item to Cayphas, iijs iiiid; item to Heroude, iijs iiiid; item to Pilatt is wyffe, ijs; item to the devyll and to Judas, xviijd; item to Petur and Malchus, xvjd; item to Pilatte, iiijd."

Several rather uncommon names of office, e.g. *Governor* and *Commander* [William le Comandur, *Hund. R.*], seem to be associated especially with the Passion Play. The most interesting is *Poyner*, i.e. "painer," or tormentor [John le Poynur, *Hund. R.*], which still survives, while Turmentur, of which I have found several medieval examples, has naturally dropped out of use. *Officer*, still a Nottingham surname, may be rather corrupted from the maker of "orphrey," or gold embroidery [John le Orfresour, *Pat. R.*], though "officer," in the sense of servant,

[1] The very popular rôle of Pontius Pilate, one of the stock villains of medieval drama, may account for the large number of derivatives of Pontius in France, *Pons, Ponsard, Poinson*, etc., whence our names in *Punch-, Pinch-*.

especially of the crown, is a common word in Middle English; cf. *Fitchell* (p. 110). *Lathron*,[1] corrupted into *Leathern*, *Letheren*, is an early form of Fr. *larron*, thief, penitent or otherwise. In Fr. *Lelerre* we have the old nominative of the same word. Cf. Adam Maufetour, i.e. malefactor (*IpM.*). It is curious to find *Christ* as an existing surname, but it is no doubt from the font-name Christian. With *Virgin* and the latinized [2] *Virgoe*, *Vergo* goes *Mildmay* (p. 246), for "mild" was the traditional epithet of the Holy Virgin—

"Ave Maria! maiden mild" (*Lady of the Lake*, iii. 29).

Goad is no doubt for God, which has also become *Good*; cf. Goadbles (p. 181). *Godson*, though it obviously has other origins, is also to be taken literally [Henry FizDeu, *Chart. R.*]. The naïveté of the old drama is amazing. In the play of *Cain and Abel*, Cain, when admonished by the Almighty, addresses him scornfully as "Hob over the wall."

Among the supers are *Postle* or *Posthill*, *Martyr*, and

[1] This is philologically interesting; cf. *Dainteth* (p. 223). *Latheron* is still in dial. use as a term of contempt. The *EDD.* derives it from Fr. *laideron*, ugly person, but this is a comparatively modern word.

[2] The stage directions and, in the earliest examples, the dialogue, were in Latin. This will account for *Pontifex*, which may be either for Pope or for one of the high priests in the Passion play [Gilbert Pountife, *Pat. R.*]. Another purely Latin name is *Coustos*, but *custos* was once in general use as an English word, e.g. Berners, in the preface to his translation of Froissart, says that history has time as "her *custos* and kepar." *Preater*, *Pretor*, *Prater* may be for "prætor" or for "prater." With the latter origin may be compared such names as *Whistler* [Elias le Wistler, *Glouc. Cart.*] or the obsolete Geoffrey le Whiner (*Pat. R.*), Richard le Titteler, whisperer, tatler (*Hund. R.*), John Sternitour, sneezer (*ib.*).

Saint, Sant, Saunt, while *Devill*[1] [Osbert Diabolus, *Pat. R.*] has naturally survived less strongly than *Angell* [Edward le Angel,[2] *Fine R.*]. There was more than one type of stage angel, hence the more definite Henry Angel-Dei (*Hund. R.*), and Fr. *Bonnange. Seraphim* still exists as a surname [Peter Serapin, *Pat. R.*]. *Pilgrim,* with its odd variants *Peagrim, Piggrem, Paragreen,*[3] etc., may also belong here, also *Armitt* (hermit), with which we may compare not only Fr. *Lermitte,* but also *Reclus.* In all probability some of the favourite saints, such as *Christopher* and *George,* contributed to the surname list via the popular drama. The fact that the latter, a very rare medieval font-name, is so common a surname in its unaltered form, is an argument for nickname origin. Both were also favourite inn-signs.[4]

With George goes naturally *Dragon* [William le Dragon, *Hund. R.*]. The name is found in French and the other Romance languages, and in the *Close R.* we find mention of a Spaniard with the pleasing name Demon Dragon. *Griffin,* usually a Welsh name related to Griffith, is also sometimes a nickname [John

[1] I read to-day (Nov. 20, 1915) that Herr Teufel is, appropriately enough, German press agent in Bâle. Here may belong sometimes *Dible, Dibble.* The Prynce of Dybles is an important character in the play of *Mary Magdalene.*

[2] It is likely that *Messenger, Massinger* are also sometimes of dramatic origin, for there is a *nuncius* in most medieval plays, and his part is important.

[3] These may equally well come from Peregrine, which is etymo logically the same word.

[4] "From thence towards London Bridge, on the same side, be many fair inns, for recepit of travellers, by these signs, the Spurre, Christopher, Ball, Queene's Head, Tabarde, George, Hart, Kinge's Head, etc." (Stow).

Griffon, *Fine R.*]. In the OF. *Mystère de la Passion* it is the nickname of a comic character whom Satan instructs in the use of dice. Although *Paradise*, *Heaven*, and *Hell* were realistically staged in the old drama, these surnames have another origin. *Paradise* is local, a pleasure-garden, especially that of a convent—

"There is (at Hampton Court) a parterre which they call *Paradise*" (Evelyn, *Diary*).

Heaven, a Bristol name, is generally for the Welsh Evan, and *Hell*[1] is simply a variant of Hill [William de la Helle, *Chart. R.*].

Surnames derived from ecclesiastical titles are generally too obvious to require explanation.[2] *Bishop* occurs as early as *DB.*, but his superior does not seem to have survived, though *arcevesque* is common enough in the Rolls and Hue Archevesque was a Norman poet of the thirteenth century. *Bishoprick* is an abstract nickname to be compared with *Office*—

"His *bishoprick*, marg. *office* or *charge*,[3] let another take" (A.V. Acts, i. 20).

With the still existing *Archdeacon*, *Arcedeckne*, cf. Roger le Archprest (*Pleas.*), who possibly enacted Annas or Caiaphas in the Passion Play. Rarer names of this type are *Novice*, *Novis*, *Reverand*, *Curate* [Henry Curete, *Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4], *Minchin*. The latter is ME. *minchen*, a nun, a derivative of monk, regularly used, for instance, in the *Cartulary* of God-

[1] *Hellcat* is a curious perversion of *Halkett* (p. 61).

[2] It is curious to find William Hugh, *pape*, and Reginald le Ercevesqe charged together with murder at Exeter (*Pat. R.*).

[3] Is this the origin of the name *Charge*, or is this for Jarge? *Prebend* is also a surname, but can *Preferment* be genuine?

stow Nunnery. It is supposed to be the origin of Mincing Lane—

"A third lane out of Tower Street . . . is called *Mincheon Lane*, so called of tenements there sometime pertaining to the *Minchuns* or nuns of St. Helen's in Bishopsgate Street" (Stow).

Labat, Labbett is a Huguenot name, representing Provençal *abat*, abbot, with the definite article. *Ankrett*, anchorite, still exists by the side of the simple *Anker, Anchor, Annercaw*—

"An *anchor's* cheer in prison be my scope"
(*Hamlet*, iii. 2).

To church office belongs also *Reglar, Rigler*, a member of a religious house, often contrasted with "secular" [Nicholas le Secular, *IpM.*]—

"Of seculer folke he can make *reguler*, and agayne of *reguler* seculer" (*NED.* 1528).

"Secular" does not seem to have survived, but the synonymous *Temporall, Temprall*, is still a surname, while *Regelous* is a corruption of "religious" in its old sense of monk. *Stroulger, Strowger, Strudger* is perhaps a popular form of "astrologer," a nickname often applied in Middle English to the cock.

A rather fascinating group of surnames is associated with the struggle between Christianity and Mahomet as represented in medieval romance. I have not found *Christian* or *Pagan* except as personal names, but the popular form *Curson*—

"As I am a *cursen* man"
(Marlowe, *Faustus*, iv. 6)—

was often a nickname[1] [Simon le Curson, *Pat. R.*,

[1] *Curson* has also another origin.

Walter le Hethen, *ib.*]. We cannot imagine that the latter was a professed heathen, for such views were not popular in the Middle Ages. He had no doubt played the part of a "paynim" in some dramatic performance. The same applies to John le Reneyie, the renegade (*Nott. Court R.* 1310). Similarly the common medieval names Hate-Christ and Shun-Christ [Hugh Hatecrist, *Pipe R.*, William Shunecrist, *Exch. R.*] were probably borne by men who had enacted the rôle of an awful example in a morality. Cf. Thomas Corescros, curse-cross (*Hund. R.*).

The legitimate heathen are, however, well represented. The chief character on their side was naturally the Soldan of the Saracens, whence our *Sowden*,[1] *Soden*, *Soltan*. With Robert le Sowdene (*Hund. R.*) cf. John Saladin (*ib.*)—

"He that playeth the *sowdayne* is percase a sowter. Yet if one should . . . calle him by his owne name . . . one of his tormentors[2] might hap to breake his (one's) head" (Sir Thomas More).

Here belong also such names as *Turk*, *Tartar*, *Arabin*, *Larby*, OF. *l'Arabi* [Ponce Araby, *City A.*], *Moor*, *Morris*, and *Sarson*, for we cannot suppose that John Saracenus, prebendary of Bridgnorth (*Pat. R.*), was a real live Saracen—

"I sey, ye solem *Sarson*, alle blake in your ble"
(Skelton, *Poems against Garnesche*, i. 36).

Blackmore, generally local, is also for "blackamoor" [Beatrix Blakamour, *Mem. of Lond.*]. *Memmett*, *Memmott*, *Meymott*, and probably *Mammon*, *Mawman*, represent the ME. *Maumet*, *Maument*, i.e. Mahomet [Ralph Maumet, *Fine R.*], whom our ancestors repre-

[1] Also a local name, from *sow* and *dean*; cf. *Sugden*.
[2] See p. 207.

sented as a god or idol. He is regularly coupled with Tervagant (p. 207). Cf. also Peter Amiraill (*Doc. Ill.*) and Richard Babiloyne (*Coram Rege R.* 1297), whose names may still survive in some unrecognizable form. *Admiral*, an extension of *emir*, was originally used of a Saracen chieftain,[1] and *Lamiral* is still a common French surname. The "Amiral of Babiloyne" is often mentioned in old romance.

Champion, Campion may have fought on either side, but the stock Christian protagonists were the *douzepers*, or twelve peers, sometimes confused with Charlemagne's Paladins. In English a new singular was formed and became a common nickname [Simon Duzeper, *Close R.*, William Duzeper, *Hund. R.*], which survives as *Dashper* and *Disper*. Epithets often applied to the Saracens were OF. *malfé* and *malfeü*, representing a barbarous Latin *male-fatus* and *male-fatutus*[2] [Simon le Malfé, *Pipe R.*, William Maufee, *Pat. R.*]. Hence our *Morfey, Morphy, Morphew*, the spelling of the latter having been influenced by the obsolete *morphew*, a leprous eruption. *Malfé* was also applied specifically to the devil, which brings us to surnames derived from supernatural beings. *Poke, Pook* [William le Puk, *Kirby's Quest*], and *Puckle* [William le Pokel, *IpM.*] are from our old friend Puck, an imp, used in *Piers Plowman* of Satan—

"Fro the *poukes* poundfalde no maynprise may ous fecche[3]"
(*Piers Plowm.* C. xix. 280).

"The hell waine, the fier drake, the *puckle*, Tom Thombe, Hobb

[1] See my *Romance of Words*, p. 46.

[2] Cf. the origin of *Mallory*, OF. *maleuré*, Lat. *male-auguratus* [Anketil Maloré, *Pat. R.*, Crispian Maluré, *Hund. R.*].

[3] This line contains three surnames—*Pook, Penfold, Mainprice.*

gobblin . . . and such other bugs" (Scott, *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584).

Both names have another origin, for *puke, pook* was a woollen cloth of a special colour (cf. *Burnett, Ray*, etc., p. 154), and *Puckle* is also local [Robert de Pukehole, *Cust. Battle Abbey*]. This brings us, even geographically, rather near "Pook's Hill." With *Ghost*[1] [Fabian le Gost, *Ramsey Cart.*] cf. *Spirett, Spirit*, the French name *Lesprit* and the twelfth-century chronicler Jourdain Fantosme. *Warlock, Werlock, Worlock*,[2] a Middle English name for the devil, and later for a wizard, is from AS. *wærloga*, a traitor, more literally an early exponent of the "scrap of paper" theory. The suffix is cognate with Ger. *lügen*, to lie.[3] An essential figure in every pageant was the *wodewose*, AS. *wuduwasa*, faun, satyr, known in later times as the *Woodhouse, Wodehouse*.[4] The intermediate form was *wodwysse* (temp. Ed. III.). Hence the names *Woodiwiss, Widdiwiss*, and perhaps *Whitewish*—

"*Wodewose*, silvanus, satirus" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

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[1] James Ghost, bedstead maker, 5, Little Charlotte St., Blackriars Rd. (*Lond. Dir.* 1843).

[2] But *warlock* is also a dial. name for mustard, so that Nicholas Warloc (*Hund. R.*) may belong to the same group as *Garlick, Pepper*, etc. (p. 188).

"Mustard, or *warloke*, or senwyn, herbe, *sinapis*" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

Warlow appears to be a true nickname. In the *Towneley Mysteries* Pharaoh refers to Moses as "yond *warlow* with his wand."

[3] In *Truelock*, an abstract nickname, from ME. *treulac*, fidelity, we have the same suffix as in "wedlock."

[4] It gave its name to "an ancient East Anglian family, Barons Wodehouse and Earls of Kimberley, the supporters of whose shield of arms are too *wodewoses*" (H. D. Ellis, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History*, xiv. 3).

Probably some names derive directly from the Robin Hood pageant—

"Bishop Latimer relates that, going to preach at a certain church, he found it locked, because the inhabitants were all attending Robin Hood—so he 'was faine to give place to Robin Hoode's men'" (Strutt).

On this see also Note 10 to Scott's *Abbot*. The character of Friar Tuck would account for some of our *Fryers*, *Freres*, etc., and no doubt *Littlejohn* sometimes belongs to this group. *Merriman* may have been applied to a cheerful person, but it was also the regular epithet for the followers of a knight or outlaw,[1] especially in the phrase "Robin Hood and his Merry Men." It has also been altered to *Merriment*.[2] In the same way we may perhaps assume that *Wiseman*, besides its literal meaning, may have been one of the "wise men" of the East in the Candlemas pageant. *Greenleaf* was, according to Lower, also a character in the Robin Hood celebrations, and he quotes, from Fabian's *Chronicle*, mention of "a felow wych had renued many of Robyn Hodes pagentes, which named hymselfe *Greneleff*" (1502). Robert of the Lefgrene (*Pat. R.*) has some savour of the outlaw in his name. *Mylord* is perhaps for *may-lord*, "a young man chosen to preside over the festivities of May-Day" (*NED.*), but *Melady*, which looks like *may-lady*, is for *Melody*, an Irish name.

A few great names from antiquity may have figured in the pageants. One clear example seems to be *Hercules*, also found as *Herkless*, *Arculus*, *Arkless*, who, in the character of a swaggering bully, was quite

[1] *Outlaw* is still a Norfolk surname [Richard Utlawe, *Hund. R.*].

[2] Still used in Suffolk of a comical person (*EDD.*)

familiar to the Middle Ages. Both Chaucer and Shakespeare deprive him of the aspirate—

"My chief humour is for a tyrant: I could play *Ercles* rarely" (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, i. 2).

Another name of somewhat similar character is *Brettoner, Bruttner,* a libel on the men of Brittany—

"A *Brutiner*, a braggere, a-bostede him also" (*Piers Plowm.* A. 7, 142).

Cf. William le Tirant (*Fine R.*), and such names as *Alexander* and *Cæsar* which may obviously be sometimes of dramatic origin. *Cupitt, Cupiss,* common in Derbyshire, may quite well be from Cupid [William Cupide, *Leic. Bor. Rec.* 1199]. But classical surnames, with a few exceptions, are not what they seem, e.g. *Hector* is local, "high tor" (p. 81), *Cato* is also local, at the "hoe" or "how" frequented by wild cats [Robert de Catho, *Fine R.*], and *Kitto,* which looks like its offspring, is a Cornish name, ultimately a dim. of the Welsh *Griffith. Phoenix* appears to be a nickname. The word was common in Middle English in the sense of a paragon, and *Finnis* may sometimes represent its popular form *fenice,* OF. *fenis*—

"Hic phenix, a *phenes*" (*Voc.*).

Finally, we come to the rather large group of surnames taken from abstract qualities. To the Puritans we owe such baptismal names, generally female, as *Faith, Hope, Charity,* but this fashion came too late for surname purposes. The same tendency can be observed much further back in the history of names. We have such Greek names as Sophia, wisdom, Irene, peace, and many of the Teutonic names, which repre-

sent our oldest stratum, are formed from abstract ideas, e.g. the shortened *Hugh* is simply AS. *hyge*, mind. It is equally natural that medieval Englishmen should have nicknamed people by the names of the virtues and vices which they seemed to personify, and, as the epigraph of this chapter seems to show, there can be little doubt that such names were often acquired by those who had played abstract parts in the moralities.

No doubt some of the existing surnames of this type are imitative corruptions, e.g. *Choyce* is for the font-name Joyce [William Choys, *Pat. R.*], *Victory* is probably an alteration of *Vickery*, an early form of *Vicar*, *Honour* is local, from the same word used of a special kind of fief (see p. 63). *Element* is for *Elliman*, which, in its turn, may represent the "man" of Ellis, or F. *Allemand*, which has generally become *Allman*; *Emblem* is an imitative spelling of *Emblin* (Emmeline); *Memory* or *Membery* is local for *Mowbray*, from Montbrai (Manche), the origin also of *Momerie*, *Mummery*; *Argument* is probably from Aigremont, a common French place-name; *Drought* and *Troth* are AS. *thryth*, might, an element in many Anglo-Saxon names; *Courage* is a hamlet in Berks, but still *Courage* is a French surname; *Foresight* is the local Forsyth; *Zeal* is a parish in Devon; *Trust* is short for *Trustrum*, i.e. Tristram, and so on. Other examples of such imitative forms will be found scattered about in other chapters, but in none of the above, and similar, cases is the literal meaning absolutely barred.

But, allowing for this incessant striving after a significant form, there remain a considerable number of abstract surnames which can be taken at their

face value. Both *Virtue* and *Vice* are well-established surnames. Of the three cardinal virtues, *Faith, Hope, Charity, Hope* is generally local (see p. 81), and *Charity* has also a double origin. It is usually abstract [John Caritas, *Leic. Bor. Rec.*, John Charité, *Pat. R.*], but Brother Miles of La Charité of the Priory of St. Andrew's, Northampton (*Pat. R.*), points to *charité* in its Old French sense of hospice, refuge. *Verity* is a true abstract, found also in the popular forms *Vardy, Varty*. It is a common name in the West Riding. With *Pride* [Richard Pride, *Fine R.*], naturally a favourite figure in edifying drama, we may compare *Orgill*, Fr. *orgueil* [Gerard Orgoyl, *City D.*]. *Gentry* formerly meant both high rank and good breeding. Chaucer says of the lion—

> " Of his *genterye*
> **Hym deyneth nat to wreke him on a flye** "
> (*Legend of Good Women*, 394).

See also *Hamlet*, ii. 2. *Kindness* has parallels in Fr. *Bonté* [cf. Nicholas Bonty, *Close R.*] and our *Goodship*, but, being a Border name, it may be rather Mackinnis, with the common loss of the prefix. With *Wonder* cf. *Marvell* [Geoffrey Merveyle, *Pat. R.*]. *Speed* and *Goodspeed* are genuine [Stephen Sped, *Fine R.*, Ralph Godisped, *Hund. R.*]. *Hazard* [1] is perhaps usually baptismal, AS. Æscheard, whence also *Hassard, Hassett*, but the existence of *Chance, Luck, Ventur* [2] [William Aventur, *Hund. R.*] shows that it

[1] For incorrect aspirate in Anglo-Saxon names, see p. 33, *n.* 1. Here we have also the influence of the abstract term.

[2] *Venters, Ventress, Ventris* are for " venturous," with just the same phonetic change as in the *-house* names (p. 96). Cf. Fr. *Laventure* and *Laventureux*.

may also be a nickname. Bad luck was responsible for the name of John Amesas (*Hund. R.*), who habitually made the lowest throw in dicing—

"I had rather be in this choice than throw *ames-ace* for my life" (*All's Well*, ii. 3).

Craft is generally a variant of the local *Croft*, but the abstract *Kraft* is a German surname. *Forfeitt* had formerly the sense of wrong-doing [cf. Thomas Trespas, *Hund. R.*]. *Profit* is of course for the nickname *Prophet* (p. 198). *Glew*, *Glue* is an archaic form of *glee* [Agnes Glewe, *Hund. R.*]—

"*Glu*, or menstralsy, *musica, armonia*" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

Vices and virtues are equally well represented. *Trickery*, a Devon name, has a parallel in Engayne, OF. *engan*, trickery, a very common name in the Rolls, starting with Richard Ingania (*DB.*). It seems to have become *Engeham*, now nearly absorbed by the local *Ingham*. With *Greed* [William Grede, *Pipe R.*] cf. *Greedy* [Helya le Gredie, *Leic. Bor. Rec.*]. *Tredgett*, or *Trudgett*, is ME. *treget*, jugglery, deceit [cf. Simon le Tregetor, *Hund. R.*]—

"By my *treget*, I gadre and threste
The gret tresour into my cheste"
(*Romaunt of the Rose*, 1825).

Fitton [Richard Fiton, *Fine R.*] is a common Middle English word for lying, deceit. Its origin is disputed, but the *NED.* regards derivation from *fiction* as inadmissible—

"*Fytten*, mensonge, menterie" (Palsg.).

Boast had in Middle English the sense of boasting, vainglory [Robert *dictus* Bost, *Archbp. Peckham's Let.*].

Cf. Galfridus Gloriosus [1] (*Pipe R.*) and John le Boster (*Pat. R.*). *Bessemer, Bismire* is ME. *bismer,* mockery [William Bessemere, *Hund. R.*], *Ryott* [2] [Philip Ryot, *Close R.*] once meant debauchery, riotous living, and I should guess that *Surkett, Serkitt, Circuitt* is related to OF. and ME. *surquidie,* arrogance—

"Presumpcioun . . . is called *surquidie*" (Chauc. I. 403).

More pleasant qualities are embodied in the names *Worship* [Thomas Worthshipp, *Close R.*], *Thrift,* corrupted to *Frift, Sillence, Patience, Pennance, Prudence* [Henry Prudence, *Feet of Fines*], *Goodhead,* i.e. goodness, *Comfort* [William Cumfort, *Hund. R.*], with which cf. *Sollas* [Ralph Solaz, *Northumb. Ass. R.*], *Manship, Manchip,* corresponding generally in Middle English to Lat. *virtus, Friendship, Quaintance* [John Cointance, *Lib. R.*], and *Brotherhood*—

"And ech of hem gan oother for tassure
Of *bretherhede* whil that hir lyf may dure"
(Chauc. B. 1231).

This last name may be also local, of the same type as *Monkhouse, Nunnery,* etc. *Holness* might be a contraction of Holderness (Yorks), but it is purely a Kentish name and no doubt for "holiness." [3] *Welfare* is certified by Ger. *Wohlfart.* Cf. *Farewell, Farwell,*

[1] An epithet quaintly applied to the Kaiser by that eminent humanist Ferdinand of Bulgaria.

[2] *Revel* is a font-name, very common in Old French and Middle English, possibly derived from Lat. *rebellus.* But the fact that the name is so common in Yorkshire points to an alternative origin from Rievaulx [Ivo de Rievalle, *Lib. Vit.*]. Cf. *Revis* (p. 82).

[3] *Holyhead* is doubtful. In Middle English it means "holiness," but I have found the name, also as *Hollyhead,* in the neighbourhood of the *Hollin-* surnames, so it may be equivalent to *Hollingshead,* i.e. at the "holly head."

and the parallel Ger. *Lebwohl.* With *Service, Sarvis,* and *Fairservice* cf. Thomas Wrangeservis (*Writs of Parl.*). *Lawty, Lewty, Luty* is "lealty," OF. *leauté* [Thomas Leauté, *Pat. R.*]. The French troops in Morocco are at present (Nov. 1915) commanded by General *Lyautey,* and the more anglicized form *Loalday* is an existing English surname—

"Thenne swar a bocher, 'By my *leauté!*
Shalt thou ner mor the Kyng of Fraunce se.'"
(*Song on the Battle of Courtrai,* temp. Ed. I.).

The corresponding native name is *Holdship,* AS. *holdscipe,* loyalty. With *Counsell* [John Counseil, *City D.*] we may compare *Read, Reed,* among the many origins of which must be included ME. *rede,* counsel—

"*Reed,* counsell, *concilium*" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

Hence *Goodread, Goodred, Goodered* [Richard Goderede, *F. of. Y.* 1465], and *Meiklereid.* In Middle English we find the less complimentary Robert Smalred (*Pipe R.*), Philip Lytylred (*John of Gaunt's Reg.* 1372–6), and William Thynnewyt (*Lanc. Court. R.* 1325).

Instance meant in Middle English eager supplication. *Peace* usually belongs to this group [William Pays, *Fine R.*, Nicholas Pax,[1] *Hund. R.*], and *Small-*

[1] In one of the Chester plays "Death is personified, and a play on the Salutation is prefaced by a long prologue in heaven, in which the speakers are (besides Deus Pater and Deus Filius) Veritas, Misericordia, Justitia, and Pax" (Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*). Here we have not only a plausible origin of the names *Verity, Mercy* or *Marcy, Justice, Peace,* but also an indication of the fact that *Death* is not always local, of Ath (Belgium). The name is quite common in Essex, where it is occasionally altered to *Dearth.* With Robert Death (*Cust. Battle Abbey*) cf. the common French surname *Lamort,* also found in England as *Mort,* and the famous Russo-German *Todleben,* death-life. *Mortleman* also suggests a dramatic personification of the uncertainty of human life.

peace, Smallpeice, very common in Surrey, is its opposite. Hawisia Crist a pes (*Nott. Bor. Rec.*) was so named from her habitual ejaculation, which was probably not unconnected with the fact that her husband was Henry Lytilprud, i.e. "little worth," whence our *Littleproud.*[1] It contains the older form of the common ME. *prow,* profit, use, whence also in some cases the surname *Prow*—

> "That shul been for youre hele and for youre *prow*"
> (Chauc. B. 4140).

Nor is it likely that our name *Heal* is quite independent of the common ME. *hele,* health, salvation.

Deeming appears to mean judgment—

> "Ffor drede that they had of *demyng* therafter"
> (*Richard the Redeless,* ii. 94).

With this cf. *Sentance, Sentence,* and William Jugement (*Worc. Priory Reg.*). *Flattery* is a quality that lends itself readily to dramatic impersonation. *Hardiment* in Chaucer means courage, daring—

> "Artow in Troye, and hast non *hardiment*
> To take a womman which that loveth thee?"
> (*Troilus and Criseyde,* iv. 533).

Travell retains the older meaning of travail, toil; *Plenty* was in the thirteenth century the name of a lady [Christina Plenté, *Hund. R.*], and a ship called la Plentee is mentioned in the *Pat. R. Skill* also apparently belongs here [Walter Skil, *Pat. R.*]; cf.

[1] The synonymous *Petibon* is found both in Middle English [John Petibon, *Pat. R.*] and in modern French. *Littleproud* may, however, have been a modest person like Robert Proudofnouth (*Nott. Court R.* 1316), but Richard Smalprout (*Hund. R.*) supports the first explanation.

Slight, usually for "sleight" [Johannes dictus Slegh *or* Slegt, *Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*]. *Wisdom* is derived by Lower from an estate in Devon, but it is always found without *de* [Hugh Wysdam, *Hund. R.*]. The oldest meaning of *Purchase* is pursuit, pillage [Andrew Purchaz, *Fine R.*], it is also one origin of *Purkiss* [John Purkase,[1] *Hund. R.*], also *Pirkiss, Porcas, Porkiss.* In fact there is hardly a common abstract term which could conceivably be personified in an individual that does not exist as a modern surname; and for most of these names medieval prototypes can be quoted.[2]

Physick and *Dainteth, Dentith* are of special interest. The former has generally been explained as an imitative corruption of the local *Fishwick.* This may be true in some cases, but "physic" is personified by Langland—

> "*Phisik* shal his furred hodes for his fode sele"
> (*Piers Plowm.* B. vi. 271)—

and Richard Physik (*Malmesbury Abbey Reg.*) certifies it as a nickname. *Dainteth* is an archaic form of *Dainty.* The latter, a Northants name, is generally local, of Daventry, or Daintry, in that county. But *Dainteth* [Agnes Deynteth, *Nott. Bor. Rec.*] is OF. *deintet*, Lat. *dignitat-em*, and shows the transition of the final dental on its way to complete disappearance. The only existing word which preserves this intermediate sound is *faith*, OF. *feid* (*foi*), Lat. *fid-em.*

The two names *Nation* and *Sumption, Sumsion* may

[1] This might, however, be ME. *percase*, perchance; cf. Peradventure (p. 182).

[2] Many which occur in the Rolls appear to be no longer represented, e.g. Cuvenant, Damage, Purveance, Testimonie, Blithehait, the last apparently from an unrecorded ME. *blith-hede, Bliss.*

be for Incarnation and Assumption.[1] If so, they do not belong to this chapter, but to the group of names taken from church seasons, such as *Christmas, Pentecost, Middlemas,* etc. But they may equally well be for "damnation" and "presumption."[2] A very possible pageant name is *Welladvise, Wellavize, Willavise,*[3] the "well advised"; but dial. *well-avized,* comely, is related to visage; cf. *black-avized,* swarthy. For the loss of the final *-d,* cf. *Wellbelove, Wellbelow* for *Wellbeloved.*

[1] Asunción is a baptismal name in Spain.

[2] This loss of the first syllable is normal in dialect speech. It is just as natural that the north-country name *Tinnion* should be for Justinian [Justinian Penyfader, *Archbishop Peckham's Reg.* 1279–92] as that King Constantine of Greece should be called Tino by his imperial brother-in-law.

[3] *Bien-avisé et Mal-avisé* is the title of an Old French morality play.

CHAPTER XI

SOME COMPOUND NAMES

"'This infant was called John Little,' quoth he,
'Which name shall be changed anon.
The words we'll transpose, and wherever he goes,
His name shall be called Little-John'"

(*Old Ballad*).

A TYPE of surname which is very common in Middle English, and is still strongly represented in the Directory, is that of which we may take *Brownsmith, Littlejohn, Goodchild, Dawbarn*, as types, i.e. surnames formed by adding a qualifying word to an occupative name, a baptismal name, or a name indicating relationship. *Brownsmith* is the smith with the brown complexion, *Littlejohn* points to a small ancestor,[1] but probably also to one who had enacted the part of Little John in some Robin Hood play or procession, *Goodchild* is pretty obvious, and *Dawbarn* means the "bairn" of Daw, i.e. David.

Compounds of this type are very much more numerous in French and German than in English (see chs. xiii, xiv), but we have a fairly large number of

[1] Of course nicknames often go by contraries, as is the case of the historical Little John himself. *Snowball* [Pavia Snowball, *Fine R.*] may have been applied to a swarthy person, as *Boule de neige* is in France to a negro, and *Goodchild* may have obtained his sobriquet by indulging in parricide. A wall-eyed portress in Marguerite Andoux' *Marie-Claire* is called Belœil.

them, some common, some rare, and many which have never been explained. Taking first the occupative class, we notice that these compounds occur chiefly in connection with the true old English words which lack the later agential suffix *-er*. They are connected with the essential activities of life, and are thus distinguished from the more modern names which spring from the shopkeeper and the specialized craftsman.[1] These names are *Wright, Smith, Hunt, Webb, Bond,* the farmer, with its compound *Husband,* and *Grieve* or *Reeve,* the farm steward. To these we may add *Hine,* later *Hind, Mann,*[2] which often means simply the servant, *Knight,* originally also the servant, *Herd,* the herdsman, *Day,* the farm worker, *Swain, knave,* and *Ladd.* Nearly all of these are found in compounds, and those of Wright and Smith are fairly numerous, though insignificant when compared with the German compounds of Schmidt and Meyer (see p. 298).

From Wright[3] we get, according to the nature of

[1] Names of the later type, if long and cumbersome, have generally been reduced or have disappeared. In one volume of the *Nott. Bor. Rec.* I find Richard le Boustringer, John Breadseller, Hugh Lastmaker, Walter Pouchmaker, Martin Tankardmaker, John Hambarowman, i.e. hand-barrow man. We still have *Bowmaker, Slaymaker,* the maker of "slays" for looms, *Millmaker, Shoemaker,* the last two very rare, also *Ashburner, Ironmonger, Stonehewer,* whence *Stanier, Whittier* (see p. 135), and others which are easily recognised *Woodier, Woodger* are for "wood-hewer." *Shoemark, Slaymark* appear to be for Shoemaker, Slaymaker. With the former cf. Ger. *Schuhmach.* It is possible that they go back to Anglo-Saxon forms of the type Hunt, Webb, etc., but the loss of *-er,* though rare, is not without example, for in the case of one family the occupative *Ashburner* has been shortened to *Ashburn.*

[2] Cf. *Humm* [Gilbert le Homme, *Pat. R.*, Geoffrey Homo, *ib.*].

[3] *Wraith, Wreath* are perversions of Wright The intermediate *Wraight* is common in Kent.

the occupation, the very obvious *Boatwright* or *Botwright, Cartwright, Cheesewright, Plowright, Shipwright, Sivewright, Wainwright, Wheelwright. Woodwright* may be the wright who lived in the wood (cf. *Wildsmith*, p. 228), but more probably the "mad" wright; cf. *Woodmason*, and see p. 308. In *Arkwright* we have the dialect *ark*, a bin, meal-chest, and *Tellwright* is for tile-wright. William Basketwricte (*Pat. R.*), Thomas le Glasenwryth (*Chesh. Chamb. Accts.* 1301–60), have given way to *Basketter* and *Glaisher*, and I have found no descendants of Matthew le Glewryte (*Pat. R.*), Simon le Bordwryte (*IpM.*), or Richard le Hairwright (*Leic. Bor. Bec.*). The personality of the *Wright* is expressed in *Goodwright, Micklewright,*[1] *Oldwright, Whitewright*, and John Longus Faber (*Writs of Parl.*). *Allwright, Woolwright*, may be imitative spellings of the AS. Ealdric and Wulfric, but the first may equally well be for *Oldwright*, northern *auld-*, and the latter may mean a wool-worker. *Goodwright* (v.s.) may be AS. Godric, and *Seawright* is from AS. Særic, or perhaps from the more common Sigeric; cf. *Seaward* from Sæweard or Sigeweard. *Aldritt* may belong here or to *Aldred*, AS. Ealdred. *Henwright* is the Irish name Enright, Enraght, and *Kenwright* is for *Kenrick*, AS. Coenric. Many of the above names are sometimes spelt *-right* instead of *-wright*.

The technical compounds of Smith are curiously few. *Blacksmith* and *Whitesmith* are both said to exist by Lower, though I have not come across them, and *Locksmith* has generally yielded to *Locker, Lockyer*. With *Brownsmith* (p. 225) cf. Randolf Redsmith (*Nott. Bor. Rec.*). On the analogy of *Plowright* we should

[1] See note on *Harrismith* (p. 228).

expect *Harrismith*,[1] *Harrowsmith* to mean "harrow smith," but I expect they are perversions of *Arrowsmith* [John le Arewesmyth, *Pat. R.*], which, in America, has become *Arsmith*. *Greensmith* is local, the smith on the green,[2] and *Wildsmith*, *Wilesmith*, is the smith in the wild, rather a Forest Lovers sort of figure[3]; cf. *Shawsmith*, *Brooksmith*. Specialists have given the names *Shoesmith*, *Shearsmith*. *Sixsmith* may contain *scythe*, the earliest Anglo-Saxon form of which is *sighthi*, or more probably *sickle* [John Sykelsmith, *IpM.*]. In *Sucksmith*, *Shucksmith*, we have Fr. *soc*, a plough-share, whence ME. *sock*, *suck*, still in dial use—

"Ye *sucke* of a plow, *venter*" (*Manip. Voc.*).

Grossmith is, I think, comparatively recent, and adapted from Ger. *Grobschmied*, blacksmith. Clocksmith, of which there are several examples in the Repton Register (1578–1670), appears to be extinct. *Nasmyth*, *Naysmith*, is explained by Lower as "nail smith," by Bardsley as "knife-smith." The fact that Knifesmythe was a medieval name, surviving into the sixteenth century as Knysmithe, is in

[1] A possible explanation of these names is Michael the Wright and Harry the Smith. Cf. Fr. *Jeanroy*, *Goninfaure*, and Ger. *Schmidthenner* (Heinrich), *Schmidthunz* (Conrad). But the only examples of such a formation I have found in English are *Pascoewebb* (p. 230) and *Fosterjohn* (p. 242). *Johncook* is more probably for *Johncock* (p. 239), though literal interpretation is possible. *Watking* is of course *Watkin*.

[2] Is *Greenprice* the Price who lived on the green or is it a barbarous hybrid Green-prés? Fr. *pré*, whence *Pray*, is a common element in Middle English names [Henry de la Preye, *Hund. R.*], and is one source of *Preece*, *Price*.

[3] So *Hollinpriest* suggests a pious hermit among the hollies. It is found in Cheshire, where *Hollin-* names, such as *Hollingshead*, are numerous, but it is perhaps for "holy priest."

favour of the second derivation. Being a Scottish name, it inevitably has a legendary origin. Some prince or noble, fleeing from his enemies, took refuge in a shoeing forge and hastily donned the garb of a journeyman smith. The pursuers, of course, came to the same smithy to get one of their horses shod, and at once noticed the clumsiness of the smith's assistant. "You're *nae smith*" were the words that showed he was detected. Though led away captive, we may assume that he was released and had issue. Otherwise there could be no *Nasymths* now! Lower also gives *Spearsmith* and *Bucksmith*, which I have not met with. The latter is perhaps for "buckle-smith"—

> "*Bokell smythes* leches and gold beters"
> (*Cocke Lorelle*).

Greysmith, like *Brownsmith*, refers to personal appearance; cf. Robert Greygroom (*Fine R.*).

I do not know of any modern compounds of Hunt, and only one of the later Hunter, viz. *Todhunter*, i.e. fox-hunter, but in the Rolls we find Foxhunt, Boarhunt, Wolfhunt. Hunt has flourished at the expense of Hunter by absorbing the nickname *hund*, hound [Henry le Hund, *Pat. R.*], and is also local, "of the hunt"; cf. the still existing *Delahunte*. The office of Common Hunt to the City of London was not abolished till 1807. The corresponding OF. *veneur* has given us *Venour* and *Venner*. *Gravenor*, though it has interchanged with *Grosvenor*, is etymologically *grand veneur* [Richard le Grantvenor, *Fine R.*]. *Hunt* is one of the few occupative names of which the feminine form has also given a surname.[1] This is found as

[1] For a large number of obsolete nouns of this form, as also for words in *-ster*, see Trench, *English Past and Present*.

Huntress, Huntriss [Agnes Venatrix, *Hund. R.*]. The only other names of this type I have found are *Pewtress, Vickress,* and possibly *Clarges* [Juliana la Clergesse, *Malmesbury Abbey Reg.*]. Such names were once commoner,[1] e.g. in the *Gloucester Cartulary* occur Alice la Carteres, Alice la Horsmannes, Isabella le Prestes, Matilda le Piperes.

Webb has, I think, only two compounds, *Greenwebb,* the weaver who lived on the green (cf. *Greensmith*), and *Norwebb,* the weaver at the north end of the town; with these cf. John le Bothwebb (*Malmesbury Abbey Reg.*), i.e. the weaver who occupied a booth. *Pascoewebb,* Pascal the weaver, is an example of a formation which is commoner in French and German (see p. 228, *n.* 1). *Bond*[2] gives *Newbond, Newbound* [Walter le Newebond, *Hund. R.*], and *Blackbond, Blackband,* while corresponding to *Younghusband* we find John Yongebonde (*Chart. R.*). *Goodban, Goodbun, Goodband*[3] may belong here or to *Goodbairn. Willbond* may be for "wild bond" [cf. Edwin Wildegrome, *Pipe R.*]. *Lovibond, Loveband, Levibond,* seems to mean "the dear bond" [Nicholas Leveband, *Hund. R.*]; cf. *Loveday* (q.v.). *Lightbound* is an alteration of the local Lightborne (Lanc.).

Grieve, with the imitative spelling *Grief,* has a compound *Fairgrief, Fairgray. Forgreive* is perhaps rather to be compared with *Forman,* a leader. Reeve is also

[1] We also have many names in *-ster,* originally used of trades especially practised by women, e.g. *Brewster, Baxter,* but this distinction was soon lost [Simon le Bakestere, *Cal. Gen.*].

[2] Hence also *Band, Bound, Bunt* [Richard le Bande, *IpM.*, Gervase le Bunt, *Malmesbury Abbey Reg.*].

[3] Final *-band* may also stand for the local *-bourne, -burn,* e.g. *Millband* for "mill-burn," *Chadband* from Chatburn (Lanc.).

found as *Reef*. Its compounds are very numerous in Middle English, and it is strange that so few have survived. I find *Oldreive* [William le Oldereve, *Pat. R.*], which, as a modern Devon surname, is neighboured by *Oldrey* (cf. *Fairgray*), and of course *Sherriff* (shire reeve), *Shreeve, Shrive*, a name less often due, perhaps, to official position than to a successful interpretation of the Sheriff of Nottingham in a Robin Hood pageant. The Scottish form *Shirra* also exists as a surname, and I suspect that *Shearer, Sharer*, a common name in Scotland, is sometimes of the same origin.[1] I cannot help thinking that *Woodroffe, Woodruff*, a plant nickname, owes something to the woodreeve, i.e. *Woodward*. But the apparent disappearance of the borough-reeve, dike-reeve, port-reeve, etc., is curious. Perhaps they were converted into *Borrowman, Berryman, Dickman*, and *Portman*, as the word *reeve* became archaic.

From *Hine* we have *Goodhind* [John Godhine, *Worc. Priory Reg.*], a type of name [Richard Fidelis Serviens, *Ramsey Cart.*] once very common. With *Goodlad, Goodlud, Goodlet*, cf. the common French names *Bonvillain, Bonvalet*, and the extinct Robert le Godegrom (*Hund. R.*), and Richard le Lovegrom (*Malmesbury Abbey Reg.*). *Lightlad*[2] (little) and the synonymous *Petivallet* exist as English names. With *Goodlass* cf. *Sotelass* (sweet). *Goddard* is occasionally the "good herd"; cf. *Whiteheard, Whittard* for "white herd." The prefix *Bon-* is common in the Rolls [Richard

[1] It is generally a sheep-shearer, and, in Northumbria, a reaper.

[2] The only surviving compound of "boy" appears to be *Littleboy*. *Warboy* is of course from Warboys (Camb.), and *Mortiboy, Martiboy*, found also as *Mortiboys*, evidently comes from some "dead wood."

Bonswan, *Coram Rege R.* 1297]; cf. *Bonfellow* for *Goodfellow*. To this class belongs *Goodhugh, Goodhue, Goodhew*, which I have previously explained [1] as for "good Hugh," an explanation which may in some cases be right, for the name is fairly common, and Hugh, which probably ranks sixth in popularity (after John, William, Thomas, Robert, Richard) among medieval font-names, may naturally have joined the *Littlejohn, Goodwillie* class [John Godehugh, *Pat. R.*]. But the real origin, from ME. *hiwe*, servant, jumps to the eyes [John Godhyue, *Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4]. And the same word *hiwe* is often the origin of the usually baptismal *Hugh, Hew, Hewes*, etc., just as *hine* is of *Hine, Hinds*, etc. In fact, the two words, which are ultimately cognate, are used as equivalent in Middle English—

> "He withalt non *hewe*, var. *hyne*, hus hyre overe even"
> (*Piers Plowman*, C. viii. 195).

Thrale represents *thrall*, a serf [John le Thryl,[2] *Pat. R.*]. *Goodchap* is for *Goodcheap*, a nickname for a tradesman [Jordan Godchep, *City A.*]. Cf. Geoffrey Bonmarché (*City A.*), whose name survives as *Bomash*—

> "*Bon marché*, good cheap, dog cheap, a low rate, a reasonable price" (Cotg.).

Goodgame, which Bardsley derives from the medieval Goodgroom, is, as the example [Walter Godgamen,[3] *Hund. R.*] shows, an abstract nickname, "good sport," perhaps equivalent to *Fairplay*. From *Ladd* we have the dim. *Ladkin*. The apparent compound

[1] *Romance of Names*, p. 60.
[2] *Thrill* in the Scottish form; see *NED.*
[3] *Gamen* is the older form of *game*.

Sommerlat, Summerlad [1] is ON. Sumerlida, summer warrior, of very common occurrence in Anglo-Saxon records [Sumerlede, *DB.*]; cf. William Sumersweyn (*Ramsey Cart.*) and Winterled (*DB.*), the latter a Viking of sterner stuff.

The original meaning of "dey" was a "kneader," as in AS. *hlafdige*, loaf kneader, whence *lady*.[2] It was then used of a woman servant, especially a dairy woman, and later of a farm-worker in general. *Goodday* is sometimes from this word; cf. *Goodhind, Goodhew*. *Faraday, Fereday, Ferriday* has been explained as "travelling day," from ME. *fere*, to travel. The formation would be like that of Delveday (v.i.), but I have found no early examples. The Lincolnshire name *Tolliday* or *Tolladay* is very puzzling. It may mean "Tolley the dey," or the "dey of Tolley" [cf. Godus Tholynwyf, 1397, Bardsley]. In *Leic. Bor. Rec.* occurs the name of Richard Tollidenoitt (AF. *toille de noit*, toil by night). Was the first *Tolliday* the opposite of this? Or does the name represent "toil dey"? Cf. William Delveday (*City C.*), William Plouday [3] (*Hund. R.*). The fairly common *Loveday*, though usually of similar origin to *Holiday, Hockaday*, must in some cases actually represent an archaic form of *lady* [Margot la Levedy,[4] *Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4]. It may also be simply the dear servant; cf. Richard le Lovegrom (*Malmesbury Abbey Reg.*).

[1] The development of this name suggests a possible etymology for *lad*, which the *NED.* regards as unsolved.

[2] Cf. the origin of *lord*, from AS. *hlafweard*, the "loaf ward."

[3] But *Plough-day* was also used for *Plough Monday*, the first Monday after Epiphany, so that the above example may belong to the same class as *Holiday, Pentecost*, etc.

[4] She was fined for selling bad ale, so she was really no lady.

Knave, once common in compounds [William Godeknave, *IpM.*, Ascelin Wyteknave, *Huñd. R.*], has not entirely disappeared. It still survives as *Kneefe, Nave,* usually absorbed by *Neave,* ME. *neve,* nephew, and in the compounds *Balnave,* servant of Baldwin, and *Beatniff,* servant of Beatrice. If *Pecksniff* is a real name, it means the servant of Peck. It is possible that in these names, as in *Attneave* (Adam), the suffix is *-neve,* which would bring them into the group of kinship compounds (p. 245); but Stephen le Knef (*Pat. R.*) favours the first solution.

AS. *ceorl,* churl, survives as *Carle,* with dim. *Carlin,*[1] but I find no modern form of Aldceorl (*Lib. Vit.*). *Swain,* a Norse word for servant, is cognate with AS. *Swan,* with the same meaning. From it we have *Goodswin, Goodswen,* while *Goldswain* means the " swain " of a man named Gold.[2] *Coxon* and *Boeson* are very suggestive of coxswain and *Boatswain.* I find *Boeson* still in Kent, where it has an ancestor [John Botsweyn, *Pat. R.*, Canterbury], but *Coxon* is rather Cock's son. Another name of this type is *Dreng, Dring,* which, like so many of this class, ranges from the poetic meaning of warrior to the prose meaning of servant. It has also given *Thring,* a variant used by Layamon. The Yorkshire name *Kettlestring* means the *dring* of Kettle. We also find compounds of a few very common exotic names, e.g. *Clark,* whence *Beauclerk, Bunclark* (*bon clerc*), and *Manclark*[3] [Saegær Malclerc, *Pipe R.*]. From Fr. *Mauclerc*

[1] In the north this also means " old woman."

[2] A personal name Goldswegen is quite possible, but it is not given by Searle.

[3] For the change of *l* to *n*, cf. *Muncaster* (Cumb.), formerly *Mulcaster.*

we have *Mockler*, and, if *Buckler* were not already so well provided with ancestors, it could be similarly referred to Beauclerc. With the dim. *Clarkin* cf. Robert Peticlerc (*City D.*). Similarly from Ward we have *Pettiward* [Roger Petygard, *Pat. R.*]. *Malpress* is AF. *mal prest*, bad priest. Cf. *Allpress* (p. 287).

Knight has a by-form *Knevit*, *Knivet*, apparently due to Norman treatment of the *-gh-* sound. Compounds of *Knight* are *Halfnight* and *Roadnight*, *Rodnight*, both usually without the *-k-*. The former, AS. *radcniht*, was a tenant who held his land on condition of accompanying his lord as a mounted servitor. He was the same as a "knight-rider," a title which survives as a London street, though not as a surname. Another name for the same rank was AS. *radman*, whence *Rodman*. *Midnight* is simply a nickname [Henry Midnight, *Pat. R.*], perhaps for a man of gloomy temperament.[1] The corresponding Neirnuit, latinized *Nigra nox*, is common in the Rolls [Richard Neyrnuyt, *Pat. R.*], and the contrasted Midday was a fourteenth-century nickname. *Midy* is found in French and *Mittnacht* in German. *Halfnight* [John le Halfknyght, *Chanc. R.*] seems to be unknown to the dictionaries. As ME. *halfman*, coward, has also survived as *Halfman*, *Halman*,[2] I take it that a "half-knight" was a servitor of small efficiency; cf. Richard

[1] Or he may have been a man of midnight activities, but I think the first suggestion more probable. Cf. the numerous *-weathers* in English and *-wetters* in German. We have *Fairweather* or *Fareweather*, *Merryweather*, *Manyweathers*, an uncertain person, *Allweather*, and even *Fouweather* [William Foulweder, *Ramsey Chart.*].

[2] *Halman*, *Hallman* is also occupative [William le Halleman, *Nott. Court R.* 1308]. Cf. *Bowerman*, *Kitchingman*, etc.

Alfthein (*Pleas*). Which brings us naturally to *Doubleday*—

" In Sunderland live, in the same house, Mr. *Doubleday* and Miss *Halfknight*" (*Notes and Queries*, Aug. 30, 1873).

I fancy that the *Doubleday* [Ranulf Dubleday, *Fine R.*] was not only a *Goodday* (p. 233), but actually as good as two. If this conjecture is right, *Doubleday* and *Halfnight* offered as strong a contrast in the thirteenth century as they apparently do in the twentieth. *Doubleday* may, however, be a fantastic formation of the same type as *Twiceaday* (p. 180), and as impossible of explanation.

Mann often means servant [Michael le Man, *Hund. R.*, Henry le Man, *City B.*]. Its compounds are very numerous, and, though the *-man* in them does not always mean servant, it may be of interest to explain a certain number of them here. If we take the commonest, viz. *Goodman*, we can see that it has many possible origins—(1) the AS. Godman [William f. Godemon, *Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33], or Godmund, with the common substitution of *-man* for *-mund*, (2) the good " man," i.e. servant, (3) the " man " of *Good*, a common personal name (see p. 30), (4) the " good man," (5) the " goodman " of the house, i.e. the master. With this cf. *Goodiff*, *Goodey*, which represents " goodwife," just as *Hussey* is occasionally from " housewife " [Richard Husewyf, *Fine R.*]. When *-man* is added to a personal name, it usually means servant of, e.g. *Addyman*, *Harriman*, *Potman* (Philpot), *Human* (Hugh), *Monkman*. *Gilman*, *Wilman*, *Jackaman* may also represent the French dims. Guillemin, Wuillemin, Jacquemin. It is often local, generally

with a suggestion of occupation, e.g. *Brickman* (bridge), *Houseman, Kitchingman, Yeatman* (gate), *Parkman, Smithyman, Meatman* (mead), *Moorman, Sellerman* (cellar). With these go *Chesterman, Penkethman,* the only examples I know of *-man* added to a specific place-name, and both from the same county (Chesh.). *Nyman* is AS. *neahmann*; cf. *Neighbour.* Sometimes *-man* is attached to the name of the commodity which the bearer produced or sold, e.g. *Flaxman, Wadman* (woad), *Honeyman* [Gilbert le Honyman, *Pat. R.*]. In a large number of cases such names descend from personal names in *-man* or *-mund,* e.g. *Ashman, Chilman, Osman, Rickman, Walkman* [Æscman, Ceolmund, Osmund, Ricman, Wealhman]. Cf. the numerous Greek names in *-ander,* Alexander, Lysander, etc. Pure nicknames of medieval origin are *Bleakman* (pale), *Hindman* (ME. *hende,* courteous), *Lyteman, Lillyman, Lutman* (little), *Proudman, Slyman* or *Sleeman. Juneman* is a hybrid, from Fr. *jeune,* whence also *June.* Some of these compounds are deceptive, e.g. *Bestman* is occupative, the "beast man" (cf. *Bester,* p. 114); so also *Coltman, Fullman* (foal), *Cappleman* (ME. *capel,* a nag), *Palfreyman. Chessman* is for Cheeseman, and *Beautyman* or *Bootyman,* which Lower identifies with "bothie man," from Sc. *bothie,* a hut, is possibly a nickname, equivalent to *Bonnyman,* though its formation would be unusual. Cf. *Booty,* which is certainly in some cases from "beauty" [William Beauté, *Close R.*]. I fancy that *Middleman* [1] is for "mickle man," as *Middlemas* is for Michaelmas. This ending is also substituted

[1] The same change has occurred in some local names in *Middle-*, e.g. *Middleditch* may be for "mickle ditch."

for the local *-nham*, e.g. *Sweatman* for Swettenham (Chesh.), *Tottman* for Tottenham (Middlesex), *Twyman* for Twynam (Hants). In many of the commoner names of this type more than one origin has to be considered; see *Goodman* (p. 236).

The following Middle English examples show how words indicating servitude were tacked on to the names of employers—

William Dengaynesbaillif . .	(*Pat. R.*)
William Judde Knave . .	(*Chesh. Chamb. Accts.*)
Ralph Sweynesman . . .	(*Fine R.*)
Laurence Geffreysman Stace, i.e. Lawrence the servant of Geoffrey Stace	(*City E.*)
Reginald le Personeman . .	(*Coram Rege R.* 1297)
Johannes-that-was-the-man-of-Crise	(c. 1400)
Roger le Priourespalfrayman .	(*Pat. R.*)
Henry le Meireserjaunte . .	(*Nott. Court R.*)
Richard Jonesserjant, i.e. John's servant	(*Pat. R.*)
John le Parssonesservante . .	(*Pleas.*)
Rolaundeservant solus . .	(*Pat. R.*)
Henry Jonesquier . . .	(*Pat. R.*)
Alan le Garzonwater, i.e. the *garçon* of Walter . . .	(*Pat. R.*)
John othe Nonnes . . .	(*City B.*)
William del Freres . . .	(*F. of Y.*)
Robert Drewescok . . .	(*Pat. R.*)
Robert Godescoc . . .	(*Pat. R.*)

The last of these corresponds in meaning with the AS. Godescealc,[1] servant of God [William Godescal,

[1] This name suggests a parallel with those Celtic names with a prefix which originally meant servant, the second element being God, Christ, Mary, etc., or a saint's name. Such are the Scottish names in *Gil-*, i.e. "gilly," e.g. *Gillies*, servant of Jesus, which, when proceded by *Mac-*, becomes *MacLeish*. Scotch names in *Mal-*, *Mil-* mean "tonsured servant," Gaelic *maol*, bald. Hence *Malise* or *Mellis*, servant of Jesus, *Malcolm*, servant of Columba [Malcolumb f.

Pat. R.], for *Cock*, which has various origins as a surname, was once the familiar appellation for a servant. The boy in *Gammer Gurton's Needle* is always referred to by this name—

" My Gammer is so out of course, and frantyke all at ones,
That *Cocke*, our boy, and I poor wench, have felt it in our bones."

Some of the names ending in *-cock* may contain this meaning, e.g. *Johncock* may mean John's boy or John the boy.

It is especially from the type of occupative names dealt with in the preceding pages that we find formations in *-son*. Such are *Smithson, Wrightson, Grayson* (grieve's son), *Rayson, Reason,*[1] *Raisin* (reeve's son), *Herdson, Hindson, Manson,*[2] *Dayson, Ladson, Swainson, Hewson, Clarkson.* Other names of this type are *Archerson, Cookson* or *Cuckson, Taylorson, Shepherdson, Sargisson* (sergeant), etc. *Sardison* is no doubt a corruption of the last name, as both are equally common in Lincolnshire. *Surgison,* like *Surgerman,* may belong to *Sargent* or *Surgeon,* the latter still a surname, though almost absorbed by the former.

Waldefer, *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* 1225–54]. It is found also as *Mil-* in *Milvain* (*Bean*) and *Macmillan*, son of the bald gilly. In Ireland we have such names as *Malone* (John), and a great number in *Mul-*, while *Mylecrist* represents the Manx form. In *Cospatrick, Gospatrick* the prefix is cognate with Welsh *gwas*, man, whence the Fr. *vassal.*

[1] *Reason* is also an abstract nickname [Roger Raisoun, burgess in Parliament for St. Albans temp. Ed. II., *Close R.*].

[2] *Manson* is perhaps more usually for *Magnusson*, an Orkney and Shetland name. *Magnus* became a personal name in Scandinavia owing to the fame of Charlemagne, Carolus Magnus. The Vikings took it to the northern islands, where it became a surname. In Ireland it has given *MacManus.*

Surgenor represents an obsolete elaboration of *Surgeon*. *Woodison* may be "son of the woodward." As for *Crowdson, Crewdson,* I believe it is the son of the *Crowder* or fiddler, a kind of cousin of Tom the Piper's son. It belongs to Lancashire, which is the home of this type of name; cf. Adam le Harpersone (*Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4), and *Rutson,* the latter the son of the *Rutter,* or fiddler.

While on this subject, it should be noticed that many apparent *-son* names are really local. One may spend some time on *Crowson* and *Strawson* before discovering that they are local pronunciations of Croxton (Norf.) and Stroxton (Linc.). So also *Frogson* is corrupted from Frodsham, *Cawson* from Causton, *Musson* sometimes from Muston, *Wesson* from Weston, *Esson* from Easton, *Foxon* from Foxton, and *Brobson* is a perversion of *Brabazon,* the man from Brabant. On the other hand, the Scottish *Johnston* is generally an improved version of Johnson (Macbain).

Before leaving the subject of compound occupative names, there are a few deceptive or obsolete examples worth noting. *Fairminer* or *Farminer* is simply a corruption of *Fairmaner,* which may allude to the good manners of the original possessor, but is more likely local; cf. Fr. *Beaumanoir. Longmate,* like *Mate,* contains *mead. Fairbard* is probably for *Fairbeard,* though the simple *Bard* is a thirteenth-century surname [William le Bard, *Coram Rege R.* 1297], i.e. much earlier than its recognition as a dictionary word. Its Scottish form is *Baird,* and the word has risen in the world—

"The Schireffe . . . sal punish sorners, over-lyars, maister-full beggars, fuilles, *bairdes,* vagaboundes" (Skene).

In *Goodearl* the second element may be rather the personal name *Earl* [Stephen f. Erl, *Ramsey Cart.*] than the title, but cf. John Brounbaron (*Pat. R.*), John Folbaroun (*ib.*). *Littlepage, Smallpage* need no explanations, and *Pennycook* [1] or *Pennycock* is for the local Penicuik (Midlothian).

Along with these may be mentioned a few compound animal nicknames such as *Goodlamb, Whitelam, Wildgoose,*[2] *Willgoss, Wildgust* [Edric Wildegos, *Feet of Fines*], *Graygoose, Wildrake, Hornram, Wildbore, Wilgress*, dial. *grice*, pig [William Wildegris, *IpM.*], *Duncalf* [cf. Henry Dunfoul, *Chesh. Chamb. Accts.* 1301–60], *Metcalfe* [3] (mead calf ?). The Oxfordshire *Fortnum* is from Fr. *fort ânon* [Nicholas Fortanon, *Hund. R.*, Oxf.]. Names of this type were once much commoner. Cf. Gilbert Blakeram (*Hund. R.*), Thomas Bonrouncyn (*Pat. R.*), Gilbert Dayfoul (*ib.*). With the *Wild-* names cf. David Wildebuf (*Hund. R.*). In *Wildman* the first element is descriptive rather than local [cf. Ædwin Wildegrome, *Pipe R.*], but *Wilder* is local, of the *wilderne* or wilderness [John atte Wilderne, *Fine R.*]. *Machell*, latinized as *malus*

[1] *Pennycad, Pennycard* are evidently from Fr. Pénicaud.

[2] The fact that that *Negoose, Negus* belongs to Norfolk, which is the home of the " goose " names (*Goose, Gooseman, Gozzard, Gazard*, goose herd), suggests that it is also a compound of *-goose*. But in the same county I find *Edgoose*, which may possibly be a compound of -house (edge-house), from AS. *ecg*, corner, whence the name *Egg*. So *Negus* might be " atten-eg-house." Cf. *Nash, Nye*, etc.

[3] It has been suggested to me that this puzzling name, which, though so common in the north, seems to be quite undocumented, may have been an ironic substitution for *Turnbull* !

" Mr. *Metcalfe* ran off, upon meeting a cow,
With pale Mr. *Turnbull* behind him."

catulus, and *Machin*, Fr. *Malchien*, are uncomplimentary compounds, but the latter has also other origins. Polecat [Thomas Polkat, *Pat. R.*] survives as *Polliket*. *Weatherhogg*, a Lincolnshire name, means in that county a male pig.

Among surnames compounded from font-names John leads easily, as do Jean in French and Johann or Hans in German. In the latter language, with its love of compounds, we find something like a hundred names which contain Johann or its pet forms. From LG. *Lütjens*, little John, comes our *Lutyens*. In English we have *Brownjohn*, *Goodjohn*, *Littlejohn*, *Micklejohn* or *Meiklejohn*, *Prettyjohn*, *Properjohn*. With *Fosterjohn*, i.e. John the Foster (see p. 119), cf. *Pascoewebb* (p. 230). With *Upjohn*, for Welsh ap John, cf. *Uprichard*. The fact that John was used like Jack, almost as an equivalent of man or servant, will explain Durand le Bon Johan (*Hund. R.*), the origin perhaps of *Bowgen*, *Budgen*. Similarly *Grudgeon* seems to represent Fr. *Grosjean* and *Pridgeon* Fr. Preux[1]-Jean, while *Spridgeon*, *Spurgeon* may be the same name with the prefixed *S-* which we occasionally find in surnames. *Rabjohn*[2] may be Robert the servant, or perhaps Robert the son, of John, and *Camplejohn* may mean wry-mouthed John, from the Keltic word which has given *Campbell*. With *Dunbobbin*, *Dunbabin*, cf. the obsolete Brounrobyn (*Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33). Goodrobert survives as *Good-*

[1] To this archaic Fr. adj., meaning doughty, we owe not only *Proud*, *Prout*, but also *Prewse*, *Prowse*, *Prew*, *Prue*, *Prow*, with the dim. *Prewett*, *Pruett*.

[2] *Rabjohns* is a Devon name, and the neighbouring Dorset is the home of *Rabbetts*, which comes, I suppose, from Robert, though it may represent Raybould, AS. Regenbeald [Richard f. Rabot, *Pipe R.*].

rop. With *Goodwill, Goodwillie,* cf. Hervey Pruguillun, i.e. Preux-Guillaume (*Feet of Fines*). But *Goodwill* may also be an abstract nickname; cf. Fr. *Bonvouloir*. *Gaukrodger* [1] means clumsy Roger, but *Gaybell* is an imitative perversion of Gabriel. Other apparently obsolete names of this class are Dungenyn (*Exch. R.*), a hybrid from the English adj. *dun* and Fr. Jeannin, Jolifewille (*Pleas*), Dulhumphrey (Lower), Petinicol (*Hund. R.*), Halupetir (*ib.*), Dumbbardolf (*ib.*), Dummakin (*ib.*), Makin, whence *Makins, Meakin,* being a dim. of Matthew, and Dunpayn (*Fine R.*), from the very common *Pain* or *Pagan*. Walter Gobigrant (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*) seems to mean "big Goby," i.e. Godbold. The only modern parallel I know to this formation, with the adjective put second, is *Wyattcouch*, i.e. little Guy the red (Cornish), unless *Elsegood* is for "good Ellis, or Alice," and *Drakeyoung* for Drake junior. Cf. William le Loverdnewe, *i.e.* the new lord (*IpM.*). *Goodbrand* is a personal name, Norse Gudbrand, and *Littledyke*, which looks so obvious, may be for "little Dick" [cf. Richard Litelhikke, 1385, Bardsley].

A good many surnames are formed by compounding terms indicating relationship. Now, excepting for a few interesting survivals, we use only *-son* or *Fitz-*, and, as early as the thirteenth century, we find such an illogical description as Margery le Prestesson (*Pleas*). The following medieval examples show a much greater variety—

Ricardus avunculus Wilhelmi (*Pleas*)
John Nikbrother . . . (*Derbyshire Charters*)

[1] In *F. of Y.* 1685 it is spelt Corkroger!

Henry Huchild . . .	(*Hund. R.*)
William Personcosin . .	(*F. of Y.*)
Adam Childesfader . .	(*Pat. R.*)
Robert Barnfader . . .	(*F. of Y.* 1426)
John le Frer Win . . .	(*Percy Cart.*)
William Makeseyre, i.e. heir of Mack	(*State Trials, Ed. I.*)
Aernaldus frater Archidiaconi .	(*Pipe R.*)
William Jonesneve . .	(*Coram Rege R.* 1297)
John Gener Adding . .	(*Northumb. Ass. R.* 13*th cent.*)
William Richardesneveu .	(*Coram Rege R.* 1297)
Patrick William Stepsone .	(*ib.*)
William Gamelstepsone . .	(*Cal. Gen.*)
Alicia Thepunderesstepdoghtre	(*c.* 1400)
Alicia Armwif, i.e. wife of Orme	(*Hund. R.*)
Amabilla Folcwif, i.e. wife of Fulk	(*ib.*)
John Wilbarne, i.e. the "bairn" of Will	(*Bardsley*, 1379)
William Godesbarn [1] . .	(*Pat. R.*)
Adam Gibbarne . . .	(*ib.*)
William le Barnemawe, i.e. the brother-in-law of the bairn	(*Hund. R.*)
William Dobmagh . . .	(*Cockersand Cart.*)
William Godesmagh . .	(*F. of Y.*)
William Hauwenmogh . .	(*Lanc. Inq.* 1205–1307)
John Gibbemogh . . .	(*Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4)

All the names of relationship have given surnames uncompounded, but usually with the addition of -s, e.g. *Fathers, Fadder, Mothers, Sones, Soanes* [Walter le Sone, *Pat. R.*], *Fitz, Fice* [Antony fice Greffown,

[1] No doubt a name assumed by some pious man. Cf. the AS. Godescalc, God's servant, once common, but now swallowed up by *Godsall, Godsell*. Curiously humble is Thomas Godesbest (*Leic. Bor. Rec*), a type of name by no means uncommon in the Middle Ages. Pachnio quotes Festu-Dieu, God's straw, and Tacon-Dieu, OF. *tacon*, a patch on a shoe. More assertive is William le Godeshalu, the saint of God (*Nott. Court R.* 1308), while Geoffrey Goddeswynnyng (*ib.*) appears to mean God's gain.

NED. c. 1435], *Darter, Brothers, Brodder,*[1] *Godson* (cf. Fr. *Lefilleul*), *Frere, Uncles, Eames* (ME. *eme*, uncle), *Child, Fant, Faunt* (Fr. *enfant*), *Cousins, Cozens*, and even *Cozze, Nephew* (rare), *Neave* (ME. *neve*, nephew), *Neech, Neese,*[2] *Widdows, Gaffer* or *Gayfer*[3] (grandfather[4]), of which *Gaff* is perhaps the shortened form, *Gammer* (grandmother, as in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*), *Belcher, Bowser, Bewsher*, from OF. *bel-sire*, sometimes in the special sense of grandfather, *Beldam*, grandmother. With *Bewsher* cf. the opposite *Malsher*. Also *Husband,*[5] *Kinsman, Parent, Gossip, Comper* [Roger le Comper, *John of Gaunt's Reg.*]—

"*Compere*, a gossip" (Cotg.).

With *Comper* goes *Marrow*, from archaic *marrow*, a companion, mate [John le Marwe *or* le Marewe, *Leic. Bor. Rec.*]—

"*Marwe* or felawe yn travayle, *socius, compar*" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

In one volume of the *Fine R.* we find John Darcy le

[1] This may be rather occupative, the "broiderer" [Richard le Broudeour, *Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*].

[2] From OF. *nies*, the nom. of *neveu* [Walter le Neise, *Hund.* R.]. It is found in Middle English. See *NED.*, s.v. *niece*, where, however, the origin of the masculine word is not correctly explained. *Neese* may also be for "nose" (see p. 133).

[3] This is perhaps rather from Gaifier, a very common name in Old French epic, and, as it is often applied to Saracen chiefs, perhaps the Eastern Giafar, vizier to Haroun-al-Raschid. It might also represent the northern form of Go-fair [James Gafaire, *F. of Y.*]. See also p. 253, *n.* 1.

[4] The analogy of *gossip*, Fr. *compère*, Ger. *Gevatter*, all used in the familiar sense of our *gaffer*, suggests that *gaffer, gammer* may be rather for godfather, godmother.

[5] This usually means husbandman, master of the house, etc. See p. 226.

Cosin, John Darcy le Frere, and John Darcy le Neveu, an example which shows how purely accidental is the possession of such surnames at the present day. *Odam* is ME. *odam*, son-in-law, cognate with Ger. *Eidam*, which now, like *odam*, is practically obsolete except as a surname—

> " Octiatus, Daries' *odame*
> After theose hostes he came."
> (*King Alexander*, 14th cent.).

Foad, Foat, Food, found chiefly in Kent, represent ME. *fode*, a child [1] [William le Fode, *Cust. Battle Abbey*]. For this word, really identical with *food*, see *NED.* *Grandison* is local, I suppose from Granson in Switzerland [Otto de Granson *or* de Grandisono, *Fine R.*], and *Outerson* is the son of Ughtred. Practically all the corresponding surnames exist in French and German, and there is even a Parisian named *Peretmère* (Bottin, 1907).

Of the compounds formed from kinship names the most interesting are those illustrated by the five last examples in the list of medieval compounds given on pp. 243, 244. ME. *maugh*, really identical with *May* (*q.v.*), seems to have been used vaguely for any relative by marriage—

> " *Mow*, housbandys sister or syster in law, *glos* " (*Prompt. Parv.*).

In the north it usually means brother-in-law, in which sense it has given the names *Mauſe, Muff, Maw*.[2] But it also survives in several compounds, viz. *Godsmark*,[3] *Hitchmough* (corrupted to *Hickmott*)

[1] It also means a wife, a young man.

[2] For this name see also p. 67.

[3] It is also possible that this is an oath-name (p. 181), though a curious one, " by God's brother-in-law." In the Porkington MS. of the fifteenth-century poem *Mourning of the Hare* we find " by

from Richard, and especially *Watmough, Whatmaugh, Whatmore,* etc., from Walter. There are probably many more names of this class which still live in disguise, as the formation was once very common.

From ME. *barn, bairn,* etc., we have *Whiteborn,* the complimentary *Fairbairn, Goodbairn, Goodband, Goodbun,* and the patronymics *Dawbarn* (David) and *Giberne* (Gilbert). With *Dearborn* cf. Fr. *Cherfils.* Many names in *-burn,* e.g. *Blackburn, Fairburn, Dayburn,* may in some cases belong here. *Maybin* is probably the bairn of May and *Huband* the bairn (or perhaps bond) of Hugh. For *Barnfather, Bairnsfather, Banfather,* see p. 244. The simple *barn* is also one of the many origins of *Barnes.* With *Fairchild, Goodchild, Littlechild,* cf. *Fauntleroy* and *Fillery,* both meaning King's son (p. 18). *Bonifant* is *bon enfant* [Walter Bonenfant, *Hund. R.*], i.e. *Goodson, Goodchild,* and *Bullivant, Pillivant* includes both this and *bel enfant* [Colin Belenfan, *Close R.*]. The opposite *Maliphant* [Nicholas Maleffaunt, *Pat. R.*, Alan Evilchild, *Hund. R.*] also exists. Richard Beaufaunt (*Pat. R.*) has perhaps contributed to *Bevan* or *Biffen.* The simplex exists as *Fant, Faunt, Vant.* With the obsolete Folenfant cf. the surviving *Sillifant,* while Selibarn (*F. of Y.*) is perhaps still represented by *Sillibourne, Silburn.* The epithet *silly* was rather complimentary than otherwise, for it meant gentle, innocent; cf. Roger Seliday (*Pat. R.*), Robert Selisaule (*ib.*).

Fairbrother, Farebrother, Farbrother belongs to the old courteous style of address as in "fair sir," "beau

cokkes soule," euphemistic for "by Goddes soule" (p. 181). In the Cambridge MS. of the same poem this is replaced by "by cokkes mawe."

sire," etc. With *Alderson*, usually "older son," cf. the common French surname *Laîné*. With the simple *Alder*, *Elder*, cf. *Younger*, but both the former are also tree-names. For some other surnames formed from comparatives, see p. 104.

The nickname *sire* [William le Syre, *Fine R.*] survives as *Syer*,[1] *Syers*, *Surr*, *Sirr*. Its compounds are *Bonser*,[2] *Bouncer*, *Mountsier*, *Moncer*, *Muncer* [John Monsyre, *Fine R.*], *Sweetsur* [William Swetesyr, *Pat. R.*], *Goodsir*, whence also perhaps *Goacher*, *Goucher*, *Dunsire*, which I cannot explain, and those mentioned on p. 245. *Cosher* perhaps represents "coy sire" [Simon Coysire, *Hund. R.*]. *Maiden* was used in Middle English of the unmarried of both sexes [John le Mayde, *Pat. R.*, Ralph le Mayden, *ib.*, William Pucele, *ib.*], but in compounds such as *Chilmaid*, *Denmaid*, *Longmaid*, *Maidland*, maid is for *mead*, a meadow. On the other hand, *Mead* often represents *maid* [John le Meide, *Lond. Wills*, 1279]. *May*, a young man or maiden, has the familiar compound *Mildmay* [cf. Richard Dusemay, *Pat. R.*], and the less common *Whitmee* [William Wytemey, *Hund. R.*] and *Youngmay* [Martin le Yungemey, *ib.*]. The simple *May* is also local, apparently from an obsolete variant of "mead" [William Attemay, *Pat. R.*]; cf. *Smee* for *Smeed* (p. 77). *Burkmay*, for "birk mead," suggests that *Peachmay* is possibly for "beech[3] mead."

A few names which also suggest age and kinship may conclude the chapter. Such are *Springall*, *Springate*, *Springett*, *Springhall*, the *springald*, young man

[1] Cf. *Dame*, *Dames*, though this may also be from an archaic spelling of the local *Damm*, *Damms*; cf. *Gape* for *Gapp*.

[2] This is also the local pronunciation of Bonsall (Derby).

[3] Initial *P-* for *B-* is not uncommon in surnames.

[Auger Espringaut, *Pat. R.*, Julian Springald, *Hund. R.*], and *Stripling*, *Stribling* [Adam Stripling, *Pat. R.*]. But the first group may also belong to the warlike instrument which was called a *springald*; cf. *Mangnall* (p. 162)—

> " And eke withynne the castell were
> *Spryngoldes*, gunnes, bows and archers "
> (*Romaunt of the Rose*, 4190).

Damsell represents OF. *damoisel*, a young squire, rather than the fem. form. For *Milsop*, i.e. " milksop," see p. 268. *Nursling*, or Nutshalling, is a place in Hants. But John le Norrisone occurs in *Nott. Court R.*, and the award of an honorary C.B. to Brigadier-General *Nourrisson* of the French Army has just been announced (Nov. 17, 1915)—

> " *Nourrisson*, a nursling, nurse-child, or nursing child " (Cotg.).

Suckling is a genuine nickname, but *Baby* is rather for Barbara, as *Gaby* is for Gabriel. With *Twin*, whence *Twint*, cf. *Gemmel*, OF. *gemel*, used by Wyclif of Jacob and Esau [Alan Gemellus, *Pipe R.*, Richard Gemel, *Fine R.*]. The *Gemmels* of Scotland, the chief home of the name, perhaps have another origin. Fr. *Besson*, whence our *Bisson*, is a dialect word for twin. *Mankin*, *Miniken*, is for " manikin " [Stephen Manekin, *Testa de Nev.*]. *Neame*, usually for ME. *eme*, uncle [cf. Thomas Nuncle, *Pat. R.*], is also an Anglo-French form of Fr. *nain*,[1] dwarf [John le Neym, *Pat. R.*]. *Male*, *Mayle*, *Maskelyne* are simply what they appear to be [William le Male *or* Masculus, *Percy Cart.*, Henry Maskelyn, *Testa de Nev.*], but *Manfull*, a Notts name,

[1] *Lenain* is a common French surname. The corresponding English name is *Murch*—

> " *Murch*, lytyl man, *nanus* " (*Prompt. Parv.*).

is from Mansfield,[1] whence also the imitative *Manifold*. An interesting variant of *Male* is *Madle*, OF. *masle*, due to the Anglo-French practice of intercalating *-d-* between *-sl-* as in *meddle*, OF. *mesler*, *idle*, OF. *isle* (see *Idle*). *Twoyearold* is still a Lancashire surname and has a medieval parallel in Adam Fivewinterald.

To the obsolete examples quoted in this chapter may be added the following—Bonsquier, Childesfader (cf. *Bairnsfather*), Langebachelere, Belmeistre, Belverge, Bruncarl, Malfillastre (Fr. *Maufilâtre*, the bad son-in-law), Hardimarchaunt, Ladychapman, Trewchapman, Calveknave, Forsterknave, Rouknave, Smartknave, Whiteknave, Bonserjant, Aldegrome, Greygrom, Litelgrom, Shepgrom, Bonswayn, Madsweyn, Litsweyn, Sikersweyn (sure), Yongswayn, Surewyne (friend), Porbarn, Petytmey, Donemay, Prodemay, Levemay, Levedame, Lefquene, Quenemay, Sotemay (sweet), Boncristien, Bonchevaler, Bonseygnur, Frankchivaler, Smalperson, Petitsire, Litilpage, Langeclerk, Schortfrend, Stalwortheman, Malvoisin, Malharpin (OF. *harpin*, a harper), Homedieu, Witwif, Blakshyreve, Countereve, Lithbond, Bedelking, Witebitele, Coperkyng, Whiteking, Wodeking (mad), Jolyfray (AF. *jolif rey*), Wodeprest, Wytknyt, Godeboy, Jolifboie, Blisswenche, Joymeyde, Joyemaiden. The last three are probably disparaging; cf. Fr. *fille de joie*. Animal compounds are Hogelomb, Tythinglomb, Maloysel, Maulovel (cf. *Machell*), Mallechat, Swethog; Wodegos, Wodemousse, Whytebull, Qwytgray (*gray*, a badger),

[1] The *-s-* in such names is quite optional; cf. *Wilford*, *Wilsford*, *Manbridge*, *Mansbridge*, etc. For the change of *-field*, *-fold* to *-full* cf. *Hatfull*, *Oakenfull*, etc. *Fairfoul*, which looks like a fantastic nickname, is probably for *Fairfield*; but see p. 319.

Jolicok, Whytkok, Yongkok, Wytkolt, Dunnebrid. Witfis, Stocfis, Fresfis, Rotenheryng were probably trade-names for fishmongers. Wytecole may refer to Nicholas, but more likely to cabbage. More abstract compounds, which do not properly belong to this chapter, are Godestokne, Curtevalur, Tartcurteis, Petikorteis, Tutfait, Tutprest, Megersens, Moniword, Maucuvenant, Maucondut (*male conductus*, cf. *Mawditt*), Mautalent, Scortrede, Littylrede, Smalchare, Stilleprud, Seldholi, Stranfers (strong fierce), Welikeing.

CHAPTER XII

THE *SHAKESPEARE* TYPE OF SURNAME

" Johannes *Shakespere*, querens, optulit se versus Ricardum de Cotgrave, spicer, defendentem, de placito conventionis ; et queritur de eo quod dictus Ricardus, die Jovis proximo post festum Sancti Bartholomæi Apostoli, anno regni regis nunc xxx^mo^ primo, vendidit eidem Johanni unum ' stik ' de ' saundres ' pro ' brasill,' et manucepit quod fuit ' brasill,' et sic conventionem inter eos factam fregit, ad grave dampnum ipsius Johannis viginti solidorum, unde producit sectam " (*Nottingham Borough Records*, Nov. 8, 1357).

THE above is, I believe, the earliest known occurrence of the most famous of all English names. This very interesting type of surname is found plentifully not only in English, but in all the related European languages.[1] Many examples, both English and French, are quoted by Darmesteter in his treatise on compound words. Ritter gives about 150 French examples and Vilmar collected nearly 250 German instances. Some examples of such will be found in chapters xiii. and xiv. (pp. 288, 303). Among them occur names familiar to everybody, such as Fr. *Boileau* (*Drinkwater*),[2] Ger. *Klopstock*[3] (knock stick), and It. *Frangipani*,

[1] An interesting Danish example is *Ole Lukŏje*, Olaf Shut-eye, a popular nickname for the dustman, recently adopted as a pseudonym by a brilliant English military writer.

[2] I do not know whether medieval wit was equal to naming a drunkard thus ironically, but the following entries are suggestive—Margery Drynkewater, wife of Philip le Taverner (*City E.*), Thomas Drinkewater, of Drinkewaterestaverne (*Lond. Wills*, 1328).

[3] Cf. our *Swingewood* and possibly *Girdwood*, ME. *gird*, to strike.

break bread, said to be due to the benevolence of that well-known Italian family. Generally such names are compounded of a verb in the imperative followed by its object, while less often the second component is an adverb, e.g. *Golightly* [William Galigtly, *Pat. R.*], also found as *Galletly, Gellatly*, with which we may compare John Gofayre [1] (*Pat. R.*) and John Joligate (*ib.*). *Steptoe* apparently has a similar meaning, though its formation is abnormal.

Names of this type hardly appear in *Domesday Book*, though Taillefer, whence *Telfer, Telford, Talfourd, Tolver, Tulliver*,[2] is anterior to that compilation, but they swarm in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Of the many hundreds I have collected, only a small proportion seem to have survived, though probably many more live on in disguise. Many of the medieval examples are of quite unquotable coarseness, and point either to the great brutality or the great *naïveté* of our ancestors. This method of formation is one of the most convenient and expressive that we have. There are hundreds of common nouns so formed, e.g. *holdfast, makeshift, stopgap, holdall, turnkey*, etc. As applied to persons they are nearly always disparaging,[3] e.g. *cut-throat, ne'erdowell, swashbuckler, scapegrace, skinflint*, or are contemptuous substitutions for occupative

[1] This is perhaps one origin of *Gover, Govier*. Stow mentions a Govere's Lane in the City, the earlier name of which was Gofayre Lane [John Gofaire, *Lond. Wills*, 1259–60, John Goveyre, *ib.* 1291].

[2] I am told that It. *Tagliaferro* has adopted the form *Tolver* in the U.S. "*Taillefer*, the surname of the old Earls of Engoulesme; so tearmed because William the second Earle thereof, clove with his sword, at one blow, an armed captain down to the stomack!" (Cotg.).

[3] See Trench, *English Past and Present*, pp. 219 *seq.*

titles, e.g. *sawbones* for a surgeon, or the dial. *bangstraw* for a thresher.[1] Warring theologians have always been great coiners of these phrase-names. Complimentary examples, such as *Welcome* (cf. Fr. *Bienvenu*, It. *Benvenuto*), *Makepeace*[2] [Gregory Makepais, *Leic. Bor. Rec.*], are exceptional.

I fancy that this type of surname owes something to the vogue of allegory and allegorical drama in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At any rate, such compounds have been beloved by allegorists from Langland to Bunyan. The latter's *Standfast* was a surname four centuries before the *Pilgrim's Progress* [William Stanfast, *Fine R.*, Adam Standefast, *IpM.*], and I have also found his *Saveall* both as a medieval and twentieth-century name. Langland frequently personifies Dowell, Dobet, Dobest, the first of which may be one source of our *Dowell*, and he has many references to *Saywell*, who still figures in the rustic proverb "*Say well* is good, but *Do well* is better."

This suggests a short digression on the ending *-well* in surnames. Many of these are of course local, *well* having its wider, older meaning, which includes fountain, stream, pool, etc. Some are from specific place-names, e.g. *Bakewell*, the name of a well-known advocate of cremation some years ago, *Hopewell* or *Hopwell*, *Tidswell*, etc., all Derbyshire. Others, such as *Cantwell* [Gilbert de Kentewelle, *Hund. R.*], *Tuckwell*, *Tugwell*[3] are from spots which I cannot identify. *Callwell*, *Cordwell* are among the many variants of

[1] Cf. Martin Betewete (*Hund. R.*) and Fr. *Babled*.

[2] Cf. Alice Makehayt (*Hund. R.*).

[3] These may even be phrase-names. *Tuckwell* may have been a good "tucker" of cloth (cf. *Tazewell*, p. 256), and *Tugwell* may be from ME. *tug*, to wrestle.

Cauldwell[1] (cold). *Glidewell* is also local, from the *gleed* or *glide*, i.e. kite, to which we owe also *Gledhill*, *Gleadle*, *Gledstanes*, *Gladstone*. Others again are perversions, e.g. *Caswell* and *Kidwell* take us very far back in history, for they represent the Welsh names Caswallon and Cadwal, the former of which was latinized as Cassivelaunus, just as Caradoc or *Cradock* was made into Caractacus. *Kidwell* or *Kiddell* is the Somerset form of Cadwal, which in Gloucestershire has become *Caddell*, *Cadle*. *Caldwall*, found in Hereford, is no doubt the same. *Rouncewell* is also historic, from Roncevaux [Ralph de Runcevill, *Pat. R.*]. It is also found as *Rounsevel*, *Rounswell*. Perhaps the name came rather from the alien priory of the name in London than from the Pyrenean pass. This priory became the brotherhood of Rouncival, which existed till the middle of the sixteenth century (Stow). *Ottewell*, *Otterwell*[2] is a personal name [Otuel de Bosco, *Fine R.*] made famous by the medieval *Romance of Otuel*. It is a dim. of Odo, Otto, which, in its turn, is short for one of the Anglo-Saxon names in *Oth-* [Otulph le Drivere, *Pat. R.*], whence *Ott*. See also *Pepperwell* (p. 189).

But there still remain a few names in which *-well* is simply the adverb in composition with a preceding verb. Such are *Eatwell* [Robert Mangebien, *Pipe R.*], *Fretwell*, ME. *fret*,[3] to eat, devour, *Lovewell*, *Meanwell*, *Treadwell* or *Tretwell* [Richard Tredewelle, *Pat. R.*]

[1] Cf. *Sortwell* for "salt well."

[2] This may be local; cf. *Otterburn*.

[3] This occurs in several Middle English names (p. 273). Robert Fretemon (*Pat. R.*) may have been an English *Manesse* (p. 303), but his name is perhaps from AS. Frithumund.

"Adam afterward ageines hus defence
Frette of that fruit"
(*Piers Plowm.*, B. xviii. 194).

and probably many more. Among them are a few trade descriptions, e.g. *Thackwell* for a good thatcher, and the Somerset *Tazewell, Taswell,* for a good "teaser" of cloth. With the variant *Toswill* cf. *Tozer,* for "teaser." The corresponding French names in *-bien* and German names in *-wohl* are also fairly numerous.

As has already been suggested, surnames of this class are generally disparaging. It is even likely that the historic *Taillefer* and the first *Shakespeare, Shakeshaft, Shackshaft,* and *Shakelance* were heroes of a somewhat obtrusive character. Examples of "frightfulness" are uncomfortably numerous. We find an extraordinary number of Middle English names beginning with *break-, burn-, kill-, pill-* (skin), or with the corresponding Fr. *brise-, brûle-, tue-, pèle-.* In fact French, or rather Anglo-French, predominates over Anglo-Saxon in names of this class.[1] We still have *Breakspear, Braksper* [William Brekespere, *Ramsey Cart.*] and the hybrid *Brisbane* [Thomas Briseban, *ib.*]. With the latter cf. *Crakebone* [John Crakebon, *Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4], still an American name, though I have not come across it in England. Modern French has *Brisemur, Brispot,* and others which also occur commonly in our Rolls. *Burnhouse, Burness, Burniss* [William Bernhus, 13th century] may sometimes be local, at the "burn house," but *Burnand, Brennand,* though they may have other origins, point to a public official [Simon Brenhand, *Hund. R.*]. Of the same craft was

[1] Sometimes we have both forms, e.g. *Buttifant, Butterfant,* Fr. *boute-avant,* push forward [Robert Boute-Avant, Pachnio], corresponds to the native *Pushfirth.* I only suggest as a guess that *Mankelow, Mankletow, Mankelow* may represent *manque l'eau* or *manque de l'eau,* a French version of Ralph Sparewater (*Pleas*).

Henry Brendcheke (*Northumb. Ass. R.* 1256–79). Criminals were still " burnt in the hand " in the eighteenth century. Cf. *Haghand*, for " hack hand," and possibly also *Branfoot*. In one of the *Towneley Mysteries* the " second tormentor " is called Spyll-payn. The original *Strangleman* may have been official or amateur. In French we still find *Brule-bois* and *Brulefer*, probably trade-names.[1]

Among *kill* names we find ME. Cullebol, Cullebolloc, Cullefincke, Cullehare, Cullehog, the last perhaps surviving as *Kellogg*. Cf. Fr. *Tubeuf*, *Tuvache*. For the *pill* names, such as Pilecrowe, Pilecat, cf. the still existing Fr. *Pellevillain* which has a parallel in a Middle English Fleybund (flay bond). Jean Poilevilain was master of the mint to Philip VI. of France, and a medieval bearer of the name had himself depicted on his seal dragging a " villain " by the hair. Cf. *Butlin*, *Bucklin*, contracted from *boute-vilain*, hustle the churl [Adam Buttevilein, *Fine R.*], and the obsolete Butekarl (*Feet of Fines*). Of the same type is Fr. *Écorcheville* (p. 288), found also in Middle English along with Es-corceberd, Escorchebuef, etc. These are only illustrative examples of a type of name which is only too common in our records. In the list of presumably extinct phrase-names which forms an appendix to this chapter will be found further examples.

Sometimes the phrase-name is merely descriptive of the bearer's occupation, e.g. *Drawater*. An interest-

[1] *Marwood*, though it can be explained locally, may also have been a nickname for an incompetent carpenter [William Marwod, *F. of Y.*]. Cf. the numerous French names in *Gâte-* (p. 262) and our own *Thumbwood*, apparently from the archaic verb to " thumb," i.e. to handle clumsily.

ing example is the Derbyshire *Copestake*, applied to a woodcutter [Geoffrey Coupstak, *F. of Y.* 1295; cf. Geoffrey Cuttestuche, *Glouc. Cart.*]. This naturally becomes *Copestick*, and in Yorkshire *Capstick*. With this name cf. *Hackblock* and *Hackwood*. *Boutflour*, *Boughtflower* was a nickname for a miller, "bolt flour" [John Bulteflour, *Bp. Kellawe's Reg.* 1303], from the archaic *bolt*, to sift,[1] and in *Boltwood*, *Boughtwood* the second element is "woad," an important medieval commodity; cf. Powncewayde (p. 275). *Pilbeam* was a barker of trees; see *Pillar* (p. 118) and *Beam* (p. 184). In *Ridland*, *Ridwood*, *Redwood* we have the dialect *rid*, to clear, as in *ridding*; cf. Simon Draneland [*Hund. R.*, Camb.]. *Hamahard* suggests a smith, "hammer hard," and has German parallels in *Klopfhammer*, *Schwinghammer* (p. 303), but it is more likely an alteration of Haimard (*DB.*), apparently a Norman form of Hagenheard (see p. 41). I have found no early example of *Clinkscales*, but I expect the ancestor was an energetic tradesman or money-changer. Cf. John Rattilbagge (*Hund. R.*). *Tylecote* appears to have been a tiler. In *Spingarn* the second element is a still existing form of "yarn." *Doubtfire*, for "dout fire," was perhaps in charge of a furnace, or he may have seen to the enforcing of the curfew. Cf. OF. Abat-Four and Tue-Four (Pachnio). John Adubbe-dent (*Pipe R.*) was an early dentist. With *Cutbush* cf. *Tallboys*, Fr. *Taillebois*. Tradition makes the first *Fettiplace* gentleman-usher to the Conqueror. The etymology of the name, AF. *fete place*, make room; points to some such office. The early examples

[1] Cf. the ME. name Boute-tourte [Guy Buteturte, *Pipe R.*] *Tourte* was coarse bread made from inferior meal.

are all from Oxfordshire, and Adam Feteplaz, Feteplace, Feteplece, a thirteenth-century Mayor of Oxford, is mentioned repeatedly in the Rolls.

But examples of this kind are not very numerous, and the great majority of phrase-names are descriptive of character, e.g. *Lovejoy, Doolittle* [John Dolitel, *Percy Cart.*, John Faypew, *City D.*], habit, e.g. *Drinkale, Drinkall* [William Drinkale,[1] *Pat. R.*], *Ridout, Rideout* [cf. Adam Prikafeld, *Pat. R.*, Robert Chevalchesol, i.e. ride alone, *Pipe R.*, Geoffrey Wendut, *Fine R.*], or even gesture, e.g. *Bendelow* [cf. Arnold Stoupedoun, *Pat. R.*]. The famous name *Penderell* appears to mean "hang ear" [Richard Pendoraile, *Chart. R.*], the opposite aspect being represented by John Kokear (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*). Similarly, the existing *Luckup* has a pendant in the obsolete Regardebas.

The mention of *Lovejoy* reminds us that we have a large number of surnames of which *love* is the first or second element. These are not all as simple as they appear, e.g. *Loveguard* is for the AS. Leofgeard, while *Loverock* is an alteration of the dial. *laverock*, a lark [Richard Laveroke, *Fine R.*], which has also become *Liverock* (p. 130, *n.*). *Loveluck* is for *Lovelock* (p. 131). *Lovelady* is a genuine phrase-name [cf. Simon Baisebelle, *Fine R.*]; cruder are *Toplady* or *Tiplady* and *Toplass, Topliss*, for which see *Othello*, I. i. But the oldest forms of *Lovelace, Loveless* go to show that in this name the second element is not *-lass*, but *-less* (p. 149). Compounds in which the second element *-love*,

[1] "Drink-ale" seems the natural solution; cf. Fr. *Boicervoise.* But *Drinkhall* [Thomas Drynkhale, *Hund. R.*] suggests rather the phrase *drinc heil*, to which the answer was *wæs heil* (wassail). *Drinkall* might be also "drink all"; cf. *Gatherall* (p. 266), *Wastall*, "waste all (?)".

in its ordinary abstract meaning, is qualified by an adjective are *Dearlove, Sweetlove, Truelove, Newlove, Proudlove. Dearlove* has an alternative origin from AS. Deorlaf, beloved remnant, of which Searle has several examples. *Manlove, Menlove* is abstract, from AS. *mannlufe,* philanthropy. *Fullalove, Fullilove* is, of course, " full of love," commoner in the Rolls in the form Pleindamour, which still exists in Dorset as *Blandamore. Waddilove* is a phrase-name which seems very out of place[1] in the thirteenth century [John Wadeinlove, *Hund. R.*].

But, just as *Love* is often from AF. *love,*[2] a wolf [Alan le Love, *Hund. R.*], so many compounds in *-love* are phrase-names of an energetic character. *Catchlove,* Fr. *Chasseloup*, means wolf hunter [Alan Cacheleu, *Pat. R.*]. We also find in the *Pat. R.* Alan Cachehare, perhaps the same man as the above, and Walter Cachelevere, Fr. *lièvre*, hare. *Spendlove, Spendlow, Spenlow, Spindelow* is OF. *espand-louve* [Robert Spendelove, *Northumb. Ass. R.* 1256–79, Jehan Spendelouve, Pachnio], which perhaps refers to disembowelling.[3] *Pritlove,* which

[1] In fact " wade in love " is so unlike anything medieval that I am inclined to guess that the first element may belong to ME. *weden,* to rage, and that the name may mean rather " furious wolf." See *Catchlove* and cf. Walter Wodelof (*Pat. R.*), from the related ME. *wode,* mad. This seems to be now represented by *Woolloff.*

[2] *Lovell* is usually its diminutive ; cf. Ger. *Wölfing, Wülfing.* In the medieval French romance of *Guillaume d'Angleterre,* one of the twin " babes in the wood," rescued from a wolf, is christened *Lovel* by his finders—

" *Lovel* por le lo l'apelerent
Que anmi le chemin troverent
Qui l'an portoit parmi les rains :
Einsi fut li los ses parrains."

[3] Pachnio's suggestion to read *espance* is negatived by the English form.

looks like "pretty love," is also a Kultur name [Alexander Pricklove, *Exch. R.*] with a common phonetic corruption. Cf. *Prickman*. *Cutlove*[1] is paralleled by ME. Cutfox and other names of the same type (p. 272). In *Marklove*, whence also *Marklow*, *Martlow*, *Martlew*, we have the verb to "mark" in its common medieval sense of striking or aiming with a weapon or missile. *Truslove* appears to contain ME. *truss*, to bind, also to pack up, as in *Truscott* (coat); cf. Packehare (p. 274). It is natural that the hated wolf should be selected for ill-treatment, and Roger Frangelupus (*Abingdon Cart.*), though bad Latin, confirms both the etymologies proposed above and the general theory that the verb in these compounds was originally an imperative. In local names, such as *Lovecraft*, *Lovegrove*, *Loveland* [Margery de la Lovelond, *Pat. R.*], it is at least possible that the first element also means wolf, and *Wildlove* is probably an animal nickname (see p. 241).

The name *Lovegood* brings us to the problem of names in *-good*. Some of these, e.g. *Thurgood*, *Osgood*, *Wingood*, are simply Anglo-Saxon personal names containing the element *god* (see p. 30); but others are phrase-names of the *Shakespeare* type and the interpretation of the second component is doubtful. *Bidgood*, *Bedgood* [Hervey Budgod, *Close R.*] I take to mean "pray God"; cf. Ger. *Fürchtegott*. *Lovegood* might be for "love God" [Simon Lovegod, *Fine R.*], the opposite of Hatecrist (p. 212), or again for "love good," equivalent to Henry Hatewrong (*IpM.*); but its use in *Cocke Lorelle*—

"Gregory *Love good* of Royston mayer"—

[1] *Cutwolf*, which I have not found later than the sixteenth century, is rather the Anglo-Saxon personal name Cuthwulf [William Cuthewulf, *IpM.*].

suggests rather that *good* has here the sense of wealth, property, as in *Gathergood* and *Scattergood* [Robert Scatergod, *Cockersand Cart.*]. With the former cf. Sparegod (p. 275), and with the latter "Slyngethryfte fleshmonger" (*Cocke Lorelle*). *Habgood, Hobgood, Hapgood, Hopgood* [William Hebbegod, *Fine R.*] may contain the obsolete *hap*, to seize—

"*Happer*, to *hap*, or catch; to snatch, or grasp at" (Cotg.).

But the antiquity and variants of the name point rather to ME. *hap, hop*, to cover, wrap up. *Getgood* sounds hopeful, but is really commercial. *Dogood*,[1] with its northern variant *Duguid*, is a complimentary phrase-name; cf. Faceben (p. 273). Whether *Digweed* is a southern attempt at the latter or a name for a gardener I cannot say.

Some names which appear to belong to the *Shakespeare* class are due to imitative spelling. *Tearall* is for *Terrell*, i.e. *Tyrrell*, an Anglo-French form of AS. Thurweald, *Catcheside* is local (Catcherside,[2] Northumb.), *Quickfall* is for *Wigfall* (p. 70), *Carvall* is for *Carvell, Carvill*, from Cherville (Marne), *Kilmaster* is of course from Kilminster (Caithness), *Marbrow* from Marbury (Chesh.), *Pillbrow* from Pulborough (Suss.) or Pilsbury (Derb.). *Wastall* may be for *Wastell* (p. 165), but names in *waste-* were once common (p. 277) and French still has *Gastebled, Gatblé, Gastebois, Gatbois* and other

[1] *Toogood* may have been confused with this, but is really an adjectival nickname. In French we find *Trodoux* and *Troplong*. There is a fairly common Middle English name Tropisnel, Tropinel, OF. *isnel*, swift, still found in Somerset as *Trapnell*. With *Toogood* goes *Sargood*, from ME. *sar*, very, as in "sore afraid." Perhaps the original bearer of the name was "unco' guid."

[2] Hence *Kitcherside*; see p. 130, *n.*

names formed from *gâter*. Cf. also *Waister* [John le Wastour, *Pat. R.*]. *Ticklepenny*, according to Lower,[1] is from a "place near Grimsby," but is remarkably like Ger. *Küstenpfennig*, kiss penny. *Pinchback* is of course for Pinchbeck (Linc.) and *Huntback* for *Huntbach* (p. 53). *Handover* is for the local Andover, and *Filpot*, in spite of the corresponding Ger. *Füllkrug*, is probably for Philpot, i.e. little Philip. Stow adopts the *Filpot* spelling for the famous fourteenth-century Lord Mayor of London. *Makeman* is either the "man" of Mack or for AS. Mægenmund, and *Putwain* is one of the many variants of Fr. *Poitevin*, whence also *Patvine*, *Potwin*, *Portwine*, etc.

Some verbs appear with notable frequency in these compounds. From *turn* we have *Turnbull* [Robert Turnebul, *Pat. R.*], whence also *Turnbill*, *Trumble*, *Tremble*, and the less vigorous *Turnpenny* [Nicholas Turnepeny, *Hund. R.*]. With the former cf. William Turnebuk (*Pat. R.*), with the latter Richard Turnegold (*ib.*). French has several such names, including *Tournemeule*, probably a name for a hay-maker. From *win* we have *Winbow*, *Winrose*, *Winspear*, *Winspur* (p. 162), *Winpenny*, *Wimpenny*, *Vimpany* [William Winepeny *Chesh. Chamb. Accts.* 1301–60], with which we may compare Fr. *Gagnedenier*. If *Windlass*, *Windless* (p. 170), is "win lass," the *-d-* is intrusive, as also in *Windram*, a nickname for a successful athlete—

> "Over-al, ther he cam,
> At wrastlyng he wolde have awey the ram"
> (Chauc. A. 546).

[1] I fancy that some of Lower's "places" and "spots" were extempore efforts. The only suitable "place" in Lincolnshire that I can get news of is Ticklepenny's Lock, which was named from a man called Ticklepenny.

John Winram was sub-prior of St. Andrews in 1550. In the *F. of Y.* we find "*Winship* the mariner," which suggests a competent pirate, but the surname is perhaps from AS. *winescipe*, friendship (p. 220). One of the most curious of the *Win-* compounds is the common Norfolk name *Winearls*, in which the second element is the dialect "earls, arles," earnest-money. With *Waghorn*, *Wagstaff* cf. Walter Waggespere (*Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285), while *Waggett* may sometimes be the equivalent of Ger. *Schüddekopf*, shake-head (see p. 128). To the *Shake-* names may be added *Shacklock* [Hamo Shakeloc, *Hund. R.*], with which cf. John Werpeloc (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*) and William Wrytheloc (*Malmesbury Abbey Reg.*), and *Shakelady*, *Schacklady*, with which cf. Robert Schaketrot (*Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4)—

> "An old *trot* with ne'er a tooth in her head"
> (*Shrew*, i. 2),

and John Daubedame (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*)—

> "*Dauber*, to beat, swindge, lamme, canvasse throughly"
> (Cotg.).

Of the *Hack-* names the most interesting is *Hakluyt*. The *DNB.* describes the geographer as of a family long established in Herefordshire, probably of Dutch origin. The "Dutch" appears to be suggested by the second syllable. The name means "hack little," ME. *lüt*, and the founder of the family was probably a woodcutter without enthusiasm [Peter Hakelut, *IpM.*, Heref.]. Walter Hackelute *or* Hakelut *or* Hakelutel occurs repeatedly in thirteenth-century records of Hereford and Salop.

There are also two rather large groups containing the verbs *pass*[1] and *pierce*. From the first come *Passelow*, "cross water," whence also *Paslow*, *Parslow*, *Pasley*, *Pashley*, *Pashler*[2] [Edmund Passelewe *or* Passeleye *or* Passhelye, *Pat. R.*], *Passmore* [Stephen Passemer, *Fine R.*], *Passavant* [Alan Passavaunt, *Lanc. Ass. R.* 1176–1285], contracted to *Passant*. In French we find *Passelaigue*,[3] *Passerieu* (OF. *rieu*, a stream), *Passelac*, *Passepont*, etc. With *Passavant* cf. the hybrid *Startifant*, *Sturdevant*, *Sturtivant*, in which the first element is ME. *stert*, to start. In the *F. of Y.* it is spelt Stirtavaunt. The *Pierce-* names are very curious, and it is hard to say exactly what the verb meant in these compounds. The much discussed *Perceval*, *Percival* is simply what it appears to be, viz. "pierce vale" Another hero of romance was Perceforest. One origin of *Percy*, *Pearcey*, *Pursey*, etc. is *perce-haie*, pierce hedge [William Percehaye, *Hund. R.*]. *Passifull* and *Passfield*, which look like compounds of *pass*, are in all probability corruptions of Percival, and *Purcifer*, a Yorkshire name, shows the same slurring as in *Brammer* for the local Bramhall. Finally, *Pershouse*, *Purshouse* is "pierce house." *Thirlway*, *Thirlaway* contains the obsolete "thirl," to pierce, but the whole compound may be local, meaning a gap.

Somewhat akin to this group are the French names in *Tranche-*, some of which, such as Trenchemer, Trenchelac are found also in Middle English. With

[1] The charger of the paladin Gerier was Passecerf (*Chanson de Roland*).

[2] Cf. *Brister* for *Bristow* (p. 104).

[3] *Aigue* (*aqua*) is a southern form of *eau*; cf. Aigues-mortes.

Tranchevent cf. Ger. *Schneidewind* and our *Sherwin* [Thomas Sherewynd, *Fine R.*], the latter the same type of man as William Windswift, mariner (*F. of Y.*). We have other compounds of *shear* in *Sherlock, Shurlock* [Simon Skyrloc, *Chart R.*], and in *Shargold, Shergold,* perhaps a coin-clipper or a worker at the mint[1]; but *Shearwood* is local, of Sherwood. Another element which was once common is *tread.* We have still *Tredwell, Tretwell, Treaddell,* and *Tredgold*[2] [Walter Tredegold, *Hund. R.*], the last-named appearing also as *Threadgold, Thridgould*; cf. *Threadgate,* in which *gate* means street. In Middle English we find also Thomas Tredebalk (*Chart. R.*), Symon Tredhard (*Yorks,* 1379), and Richard Tradesalt (*Rievaulx Cart.*). *Treadaway, Treadway* is local [John de Treddewy, *Exch. R.*], from *treadway,* a thoroughfare, which was in use as late as the seventeenth century.

Gather occurs in *Gathergood* (p. 262), *Gathercole,*[3] *Gatherall.* The last-named, of the type of Walter Prentout (*Lond. Wills,* 1340), still a French surname, and Godwin Givenout (*Rievaulx Cart.*), has also become *Catherall,*[4] with which cf. *Catherwood* for "gather wood," and Abraham Cathermonie (*Rievaulx Chart.*). In the *Pat. R.* we find Nicholas Gadrewit whose pursuit was wisdom rather than wealth. *Tirebuck*

[1] "The other (lane), corruptly called Sermon lane, for Sheremoniers' lane, for I find it by that name recorded in the fourteenth of Edward I. . . . It may, therefore, be well supposed that lane to take name of Sheremonyars, such as cut and rounded the plates to be coined or stamped into sterling pence" (Stow).

[2] With this cf. Ger. *Rosentreter,* the trampler of roses.

[3] It is uncertain whether the second element means charcoal or cabbage [Robert Gaderkold, *Pat. R.*].

[4] I think *Cathedrall* must be an imitative alteration of this.

may be local, of Tarbock (Lanc.), but the first element may be the obsolete *tire*, to tear, rend—

> "I graunte wel that thou endurest wo
> As sharp as doth he, Ticius, in helle,
> Whos stomak foules *tiren* evere mo
> That highten voltoures, as bookes telle"
> (*Troilus and Criseyde*, i. 785).

This etymology is supported by William Randekide (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*) and the Lancashire *Tyrer* [Henry le Tyrer, *Bp. Kellawe's Reg.*], formerly also Tyre-hare, though this latter may perhaps refer to a blameless hairdresser.

Knatchbull may have been applied to a butcher, or perhaps to some medieval Milo of Crotona; cf. John Felox (13th century)—

> "With a great clubbe (Commodus) *knatched* them all on the hed" (*NED.* 1579).

Benbow, Benbough, Bebbow are of course "bend-bow" [William Bendebowe, *City F.*]. Robin Hood's follower Scathelock is still found as *Scadlock, Shadlock, Shatlock, Shedlock, Shotlock, Shackcloth,* though the compound can hardly be said to make sense. Evidently *Shacklock* has contributed also to this group. There are a considerable number of medieval names in *-lock*; see p. 264. *Rackstraw, Raickstraw, Rextrew, Rockstro,* is occupative, "rake straw"; cf. Ralph Frapaile, i.e. *frappe-paille* (*Pat. R.*), a thresher, and see "bang-straw" in the *EDD.* *Prindeville* was a successful soldier, Fr. *prend ville.* *Parlby* is altered from the once common *parle bien* [John Parlebien, *Pat. R.*] and *Chantler* is for the still commoner *chante clair* [Roger Chauntecler *or* Chaunteler, *Pat. R.*]. *Cash-*

man is for "catch man" [Mabel Cacheman, *Pat. R.*]. *Shadbolt, Shotbolt* may be for "shoot bolt" (cf. *Benbow*, p. 267), or the first element may be a past participle and the whole compound have been applied to one who had shot his bolt; cf. the common Middle English name Lancelevée. *Hurlbatt* is doubtful, for Matthew Herlebaut (*Pat. R.*) looks like a personal name. Still, John Hurlebadde (*Pat. R.*) and Thomas Draghebat [1] (*ib.*) tend to authenticate it as a phrase-name. *Plantrose* [John Plaunterose, *Hund. R.*] and *Pluckrose* [Alan Pluckrose, *ib.*] still exist and have plenty of medieval support; cf. Simon Schakerose (*Pat. R.*), Peter Porterose (*ib.*), Andrew Plantefene [2] (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*), Elyas Plantefolye (*Fine R.*). *Pluckrose* has a parallel in *Culpepper* [3] [Thomas Cullepeper *or* Colepepyr, *Pat. R.*], with which cf. Richard Cullebene (*Hund. R.*).

Among examples in which the second element is adverbial we find, besides the quaint *Gotobed* or *Gotbed*, such names as *Rushout* (cf. *Rideout*, p. 259) and *Rushaway*, the latter perhaps a conscientious objector, like Robert Torne-en-Fuie (Pachnio). *Fulloway* may be for "follow way," as Followfast is found in the fourteenth century, and *Standeven, Standaloft* both seem to belong here also. *Pickavant*, altered to *Pickavance, Pickance, Pickervance* is Fr. *pique-avant*, spur forward.

Subject and verb are inverted in *Hornblow, Horniblow, Orneblow* and possibly in *Milsopp, Mellsop*

[1] This seems to be the native equivalent of Trailbaston, a term first applied to a class of malefactors. On the interesting development of this compound into a legal term see *NED.*

[2] Fr. *foin*, hay, Lat. *fœnum.*

[3] There is just a possibility that this means "black pepper" cf. Thomas Piperwyt (*Cust. Battle Abbey*) and John Blaksalt (*Pat. R.*)

[Roger Melkesopp, *Hund. R.*]. The latter may mean what is sopped in milk, but, as applied to a baby, or to a spiritless person, it may be rather one who sups milk—

> "Hayll, lytyll tyn mop, rewarder of mede!
> Hayll, bot oone drop of grace at my nede!
> Hayll lytyl *mylk sop!* hayll, David sede!"
> (*Towneley Mysteries*).

Similar inversions are found in Middle English, as in the pleasing John Coutorment (*Pat. R.*). The original *Overthrow* was perhaps a skilled wrestler; cf. Henry Overdo (*Close R.*, Ed. IV.). John Lyngeteill, tailor (*F. of Y.*), may be for *taille-linge*, or the second element may be *toile*, cloth.

It excites no surprise that so many of these names have disappeared. They are, as this chapter shows, and as will be seen still more clearly from the list on pp. 270–7, nearly always contemptuous. Also they are often cumbersome, so that even so complimentary a name as that of Jehan Qui de riens ne s'esmoie (Pachnio), i.e. John Dreadnought, had a very poor chance of surviving. Occasionally such names have been absorbed by others. There can, for instance, be little doubt that some of our *Penfolds* [1] represent the occupative "pen-fowl" [Henry Pynfoule, *Pat. R.*], an official who has become more usually *Catchpole* (Fr. *chasse-poule*). *Walkinshaw*, *Wakenshaw*, has a local look, but the existence of *Rangecroft* suggests that it may be simply "walk in shaw," perhaps a forest ranger—

> "*Walkers*, seeme to be those that are otherwise called foresters. Crompton in his Jurisdictions, *fol.* 154, hath these words in effect: There bee foresters assigned by the King, which be *walkers* within a certain space assigned them to looke unto" (Cowel).

[1] This has several variants, e.g. *Pennifold*, *Pinfold*, *Pinfield*.

Hence perhaps also *Walkland*. Or the name may have been applied to a forest outlaw. Cf. Jourdain Saill-du-Bois (Pachnio), Hugo Saildebroil[1] (*ib.*), found also in Middle English as Saudebroyl, both of whom probably obtained their sobriquets by their unwelcome sorties from the woods that bordered the medieval highway. *Walklate* is as natural a nickname as "toil by night" (see p. 233). Other names of the same type, some not easy to interpret, are *Wakelam*[2] (cf. Esveillechien, p. 273), *Shearhod* (hood), *Stabback*, *Settatree*, *Makemead* [Gregory Makemete, *Pat. R.*], *Lockbane*, *Saltonstall* (cf. *mountebank* and *saltimbanque*).

The obsolete names in the following list all come from the same sources as those which are quoted throughout this book. To save space I have omitted the baptismal names and references. Some of them no doubt still exist in a corrupted form and perhaps others are wrongly included here. A few, which I cannot interpret, may amuse the leisure of some of my readers. It will be noticed that Anglo-French prevails over the native element, while there are a few hybrids. Many are evidently trade descriptions, but the majority allude to some habit, or even some isolated act, on the part of the original bearer.

Baillebien (OF. *bailler*, to give. Cf. F. *Baillehart* [halter], *Baillehache* [axe], whence *Bailhache*)
Baisedame (cf. *Lovelady*)
Bayseboll (one who loved the bowl)
Baysers
Besecu
Banesthef (banish thief)
Banthane (cf. Crusseking, but *Banfather* is for *Bairnsfather* p. 244)
Barreduk (cf. Facehen)

[1] See *Brewill* (p. 55).

[2] The rather vigorous-looking *Wakem* and *Whackum* are for the local Wakeham.

Beivin (*boi-vin*), a very common Middle English name, still found as *Bevin*)
Berebred
Berhors
Beritawey (with the *bear-* names cf. those in *port*).
Berewater
Bereswerd
Bernereve
Brenecote
Brengest
Brendhers (horse ?)
Bryndboys (in these five names we have Middle English forms of *burn*)
Betewater
Byggeharme (ME. *big*, to build, contrive)
Bindethef
Bindewinter
Bitebere
Bytewant (ME. *want*, a mole; cf. Moulbayt)
Blouhorn
Boteturte (see p. 258, *n.* 3)
Brekbek
Brekedisshe
Brekedure (door)
Brechedure
Brechehert
Brekemast
Brekpot
Brekerop (cf. Crakestreng)
Brekstaf
Bridebek (cf. Bridoye, the judge in Rabelais. Geese were bridled by passing a feather through the orifices of the beak to prevent them from straying through hedges. Hence "*oison bridé*, a sot, asse, gull, ninnie, noddie" Cotg.).
Brysbank
Brisbon (bone)
Brisecoc
Briscop (cup)
Brisefer
Briselaunce
Brisemustier (OF. *moustier*, monastery)
Brisepot
Bristimbre
Brusebar
Brusekaillou
Bruselance
Brusepot
Bukelboots
Bukepot (ME. *buck*, to wash, clean, as in *buck-basket*)
Buskeleche

Cachefis
Cacchefrensh
Cachehors
Cachemaille (Fr. *maille*, a small coin; cf. Pinsemaille. *Cache-maille* is an existing English name, no doubt Huguenot)
Cachemay (ME. *may*, a maiden; ? cf. *Bindlass*, p. 200)
Cachepot (cf. Fr. *Chassepot*, p. 289)
Cachevache (cf. names in *Chase-*, *Cake-*, *Kach-*)
Cakedan (Fr. *daim*, a deer)
Cakerowe
Castepac
Chaceporc
Chasehare
Chasemuine (Fr. *moine*, a monk)
Chanteben
Chauntemerle (Fr. *merle*, a blackbird; but Chantemerle is a common French place-name)

Chantemesse
Charthecrawe
Chaucebuef, Causebuf
Caucepe
Causseben (Fr. *chausser*, to shoe)
Chipawey
Chopfox
Clocoppe (ME. *clock*, to hobble, Fr. *clocher*. Cf. *Startup* [p. 153] and *trollop*, *Trollope*, from ME. *troll*, to saunter, prowl)
Clevegris (ME. *gris*, a pig)
Clevehog (these two names are sometimes misprinted *Clene-* in the *Hund R.* Cf. the names in *Tranche-*, *Trenche-*)
Cnaplok
Cokechinne
Countefoghel (before they were hatched ?)
Coupchesne
Coupeforge (? a mistake for Coupegorge)
Copefranceis
Copegray (dial. *gray*, a badger)
Coupne (*coupe-nez*)
Coursedieu (cf. Crusseking)
Crakpot
Crakesheld
Crakestreng (cf. Brekerop. "*Baboin*, a crack-rope, waghalter, unhappy rogue, wretchlesse villaine," Cotg.)
Crevecuor (hence *Crawcour* and sometimes *Croker*. Cf. Brechehert. But the name is local; there are four Crèvecœurs in France)
Crollebois, Corlebois (OF. *croller*, to shake; cf. Curlevache)
Crusseking (curse)
Cuethemarket (know the market ?)
Cullebene (cf. Peckebene)
Cullebere ("kill bear" or Pickbarlik ?)
Cullefinch
Cullehare
Culletoppe (Fr. *taupe*, a mole. For *cull*, to kill, see also p. 257)
Curairs
Curedame
Curlevache
Cuttecope
Cutfox
Cuthog
Cuttepope
Cutsweyn
Cuthup
Cutwesyll (this may be for *weasel*, but is more probably a perversion of *weasand*, throat)

Dyngbel
Dyngesande (ME. *ding*, to pound, crush)
Dragebrech
Dreghorn
Drawespe
Drawlace
Drawespere, Draespere
Draweswerd
Draneck (not from *draw*, but from *thraw*, twisted, a northern form of *throw*, so it does not really belong to this group. *Thrawnecked* is still in dial. use)
Drounepak
Dringkedregges
Drynkpany (possibly belongs elsewhere. *Drinkpenny* was used in the same sense as Fr. *pourboire* and Ger. *Trinkgeld*. Cf. Virgil Godspeny, *Pat. R.*,

and the existing French name *Potdevin*, from *pot-de-vin*, a present made in concluding a bargain, etc. *Hansell* also no doubt has sometimes a similar origin)
Drynkestor
Dubedent (see p. 258)
Duleram
Dunpurs (perhaps for "don purse." But it may mean "brown purse"; cf. Irenpurs [p. 163] and Alexander Haripok, i.e. hairy pouch, *F. of Y.*)

Enganevielle (OF. *enganer*, to trick, deceive)
Esveillechien
Etebred
Et[h]ebutter
Etelof
Etemete

Faceben (*Dogood*)
Facehen (one who could "say boh to a goose." But a line in *Cocke Lorelle* suggests that there was a verb *face*, meaning to ill-treat, whence *Facer*—
"Crakers, *facers*, and chylderne quellers")
Falleninwolle (? well)
Felebesche (cf. Coupchesne)
Fernon (a ME. Dreadnought)
Ferewyff
Fiercop (OF. *fier-coup*, strike blow)
Findesilver
Forthwynde (probably for *wend*, cf. Wendut, Gangeof, *Rideout*)
Fretecok
Freteheved
Fretelof
Fretemette (cf. the names in *Ete-* and see p. 255)
Froisselewe (cf. Betewater)
Fulsalt (Fr. *fouler*, to tread)
Futladame

Gangeof
Gaderpenye
Gardleberd
Gastehuse
Gatteprest (cf. the names in *Waste-*)
Gerdelaf
Ginful (? trap fowl; cf. Pynfoule, p. 269)
Girdethewode (see *Girdwood*, p. 251, *n.* 3. But it may be for "guard the wood")
Gnawebon
Gnawepeny
Gobefore
Godsendus
Gointhewynd
Gratefige (Fr. *gratte figue*; cf. Squarcefige)
Grindlas
Grindelove (see p. 260)
Gripchese
Guanaben (Fr. *gagne-bien*)
Gurdepack
Gyrdecope, Gyrdinthecope

Hackebon
Hachchebutere (cf. Avice la Buterkervere, *Close R.*)
Hakkefot
Hackenose
Hacsmal
Hactare
Haldelond

Halskyng (ME. *halse*, to embrace)
Hatekarle (cf. Ger. *Bauernfeind*)
Hatet[h]rift
Hauntewak (*wake*, now used only of a funeral feast, formerly meant a "revelling o' nights")
Heldhare (ME. *helden*, to hold, keep)
Hykepin
Hoppeschort
Hotgo
Hundecrist (cf. Hatecrist, Shonecrist, p. 212)
Hurtequart (a drinker's name; cf. the archaic expression "crushing a quart")
Hurtevent (cf. *Tranchevent*, *Sherwin*, p. 266. It is also a French place-name, no doubt meaning "face wind," Mod. Fr. *heurter*, to encounter roughly)

Kacheboye (see names in *Cache-*, *Chase-*, *Cake-*)
Kachelewe
Kachepeny
Keekhorn
Kembelof (apparently "comb wolf"; cf. *unkempt*)
Kepecat
Kepegest
Kepeharm

Lacklove
Lapewater
Laughwell
Lenealday
Levetoday
Lievelance
Liggescheld
Lockeburs, Locenpurs
Locout (probably "look out")
Lulleman

Makebeverege
Makeblisse
Makeblythe
Makefair
Makehayt
Makejoy
Makesayle
Mangebacun
Mangefer
Mangehaste (OF. *haste*, a spit; cf. Taillehast)
Mangevileyn
Marewater
Mendfaute
Metlefrein
Moulbayt (cf. Bytewant)
Mucedent (OF. *mucier*, to hide, cover up; cf. Adubbe-dent, p. 258)

Ottespur

Pailcerf (skin stag, or perhaps for "*poil de cerf*")
Paynlow (torture wolf)
Pakharneys (cf. Trusseharneys. In the *Towneley Mysteries* Cain's horse-boy is called Pike-harneis, probably the same name)
Parchehare
Parlefrens
Passlewelle
Passeflabere (a nickname applied

in *Annal. Monast.* to Ranulf Flambard, whose name survives as *Flambert*. It apparently plays on his name and suggests handing on the torch)
Peckebene
Peckechese
Peckewether
Percesoil, Percesuil (also misprinted Percefoil)
Percevent
Pichepappe (apparently the same as Fr. *Piepape*, and of the same type as Crusseking, Shonecrist, etc., but I cannot explain the first syllable)
Pickbarlik
Pikebone
Pikechin
Pikhorn
Pikemumele (? Fr. *mamelle*)
Pikewastel
Pylcok
Pillegos (cf. Jehan Escorche-Rainne, skin-frog, Pachnio)
Pillemyl (mule)
Pilemus (mouse)
Pinchehaste
Pinsemaille ("*Pinse-maille*, a pinch peny, scrape-good, nigard, miser, peniefather," Cotg.)
Pinchepeny
Pinchshu
Pineferding
Pirnetote (see *Prentout*, p. 266)
Playscefonte
Polprest (an ecclesiastical hairdresser)
Portebryf
Portegoie, Portejoie
Porterob
Portesoyl (cf. the names in *Bere-* and the existing French surnames *Portebois*, *Portefaix*, *Portelance*, *Portenseigne*)
Pouchmete
Pownsewayd (a "pouncer," or pulverizer, of woad. Cf. *Wader*, p. 120)
Prikeavant (an alteration of *Pickavant*, p. 268)
Prikehering
Prikehors
Prikeskin
Pullebrid (here *pull* is equivalent to *pill*; see p. 257)
Pulegos
Pulhare

Rennaway
Reulebon (AF. *reule-bien*, rule well)
Rerepaunch
Ringebelle
Rivegut
Robechild
Rollevilain
Romefare (a pilgrim to Rome)

Sachevin (OF. *sachier*, to draw. It may, however, be an alteration of the French surname *Sacavin*, from "*sac a vin*, a drunken gulch, or gorbelly; a great wine-drinker" Cotg.)
Sacquespee (cf. Draweswerd. This name, common in our Rolls, has perhaps been absorbed by *Saxby*. It is still found in France as *Sacquepé*)
Sailleben
Schapacape, Shapeakap, Shappecape (a tailor ?)
Schitebroch

Scorchevileyn
Scrapetrough (the name of a miller in *F. of Y.*)
Scrothose
Scubledekne
Sefare
Serveladi
Shakeshethe
Shavetail
Skillehare
Sletlame
Sparegod
Spekelitel
Spelkelesing (a mistake for "speak leasing")
Spikefis
Spilblod
Spillecause
Spillecok
Spilcorn
Spilfot
Spilring
Spilewyn
Spitewinch (wench)
Sprenhose, Sprenghoese (ME. *sprenge*, to scatter. Cf. Wastehus, Bernhus)
Springemare, Springemer
Spurecat
Spirecoc
Spirhard
Spirewhit
Spongeboll
Spurnestan
Spurneturtoys
Squarsefige
Stalebond
Stelecat
Stepwrong
Stikeman
Strecketayle
Strokehose
Sturpot
Supewortes
Swetinbedde

Taillebosc
Taillehast
Taylemayle
Taillepetit (cf. Hacsmal)
Tamehorn
Tendhogge
Thurlewynd (synonymous with Percevent)
Tyreboys
Tirelitel
Tireavant
Tosseman
Totepeny (an early example of *tout*, in its original sense of looking out, watching for)
Tracepurcel
Tradesalt
Tredepel
Tredlef
Tredewater
Trenchebof
Trenchelake
Trenchemer
Trenchmore
Trenchepin (Fr. *pain* ?)
Trenchesey
Trenchesoil
Trenchevent, Trinchevent
Trendelove, Trendeluwe (ME. *trend*, to turn. The second syllable means wolf. Cf. *Turnbull*, Turnbuck)
Trotemenil (for Fr. *trotte-menu*, used of a tripping gait)
Trussebut
Trusseharneys ("His gilly-*trush-harnish*, to carry his knapsack," *Waverley*, ch. xvi)
Trussemulle

Trussevilain
Tukbacon
Turnecotele
Tornemantel (of course the first syllable might be the adj. *torn*)
Turnepet
Turnetravé (*trave*, a dial. word for a shock of corn; cf. Fr. *Tournemeule*)

Vatost

Wagetail
Waynpayn (a Picard form of Fr. *Gagnepain*)
Waytecake (a gamekeeper, *wayte*, to guard, and *cake*, variant of *chasse*; cf. Cakedan)
Wakewo
Wantemylk
Wardebien
Wasthose, Wasthus
Wastepayn
Wastepeny
Waveloc
Wendut, Wyndout
Wetebedde
Whirlepeni
Whirlepipyn
Widfare
Winnelove
Wynneyene (again)
Wipetail
Wryngetayl, Wrangtayle
Wrytheloc

CHAPTER XIII

FRENCH SURNAMES

"As to bravery, foolish, inexperienced people of every nation always think that their own soldiers are braver than any others. But when one has seen as much as I have done, one understands that there is no very marked difference, and that although nations differ very much in discipline, they are all equally brave—except that the French have rather more courage than the rest" (*Brigadier Gerard*).

Soon after the beginning of the war I read, in a usually well-informed periodical, that General Joffre was of humble extraction, and owed his name to an immediate ancestor, who, pursuing the calling of an itinerant dealer, was wont to commence his remarks with the words *J'offre!* This statement, whatever may be thought of it philologically, seems at any rate to indicate some interest in the onomatology of our gallant allies. French names, like our own, have a history that can be traced, and are formed on a system which can be easily illustrated. From about the eleventh century, when the surname (i.e. super name) began to be added to the simple appellation which satisfied our remoter ancestors, down to about the middle of the fourteenth century, when names became hereditary instead of changing with the individual, surnames have been formed in four ways only. They are baptismal, from the name of the father or mother, e.g.

Lamartine, Clémenceau (little Clement); local, from place of birth or residence, e.g. *Dupont* (Bridge), *Dupré* (Mead), *Lallemand* (Allman); occupative, from trade or office, e.g. *Boucher* (Butcher), *Serrurier* (Lockyer), *Lemaître* (Master); or descriptive, from some peculiarity of appearance, character, costume, habits, etc., e.g. *Legrand* (Grant) *Lebon* (Boon), *Beauharnais* (fine armour) *Boileau* (Drinkwater). Thus, corresponding to our Messrs. Williams, Mills, Baker, Small, we find in France Messieurs *Guillaume, Desmoulins, Boulanger, Lepetit.* Not only so, but, as in our language is a mixture of English and French and a large proportion of our population was bilingual during the period in which our surnames took form, most common French surnames are found also in this country, so that the four mentioned above not only translate the given English equivalents, but also flourish among us as *Gilham, Mullins, Bullinger,* and *Pettitt,* with, of course, many variant spellings.

With a fair knowledge of modern French, which, judging from the published versions of the French despatches, is somewhat to seek in high places, and some tincture of the older forms of the language, it is possible to ascertain the meaning and origin of nine-tenths of the names in the Paris Directory. But the tenth name, or perhaps, in the case of a very well equipped student, the twentieth name, is often a teaser, the difficulties to be overcome being sometimes greater, sometimes less, than those encountered in the study of English surnames. Speaking generally, these difficulties are of a special nature resulting from the character and genius of the language.

The misleading aspect of a name, due to erratic

spelling, is a common phenomenon in both languages, but the French practice of omitting the final consonant in pronunciation often leads to an orthographic substitution of a specially baffling character. *Dumouriez* suggests nothing, but if we replace the final *-z* by *-r* we get at once the dialect *mourier*, a bramble, and the name is then as simple as *Dubuisson* (Bush) or *Delarbre* (Tree). *Montégut* is obviously *Montaigu*, the pointed hill (Peake), *Darboy* is for d'Arbois, from a place in the Jura, and *Duclaux* is simply *Duclos* (Close). The well-known name *Hanotaux* is for *Hanotot*, formed from *Jean* by the most puzzling process in which the language indulges—thus, *Jehan, Han, Hanot, Hanotot.* A phonetic spelling gives *Leclair* for *Leclerc* (Clark), *Lemerre* for *Lemaire* (Mayor), *Chantavoine* for *champ d'avoine*, oat field, while *Ozanne* disguises the more homely *Auxânes*, a nickname of a type not uncommon in French and meaning either an ass-driver or a dealer in those quadrupeds. Similarly we find *Ozenfant* for *Auxenfants*, corresponding to the Mr. Quiverfull of the old-fashioned comic papers. In *Lailavoix* is hidden OF. *lez la voie* (Bytheway) with the obsolete preposition *lez* (Lat. *latus*) which survives in Plessis-lès-Tours, and possibly in such English place-names as Chester-le-Street.

We have also, as in English, to consider dialect peculiarities. Lat. *faber*, a smith or wright, gives in the north *Fèvre, Lefèvre*, but in the south *Fabre* and *Faure*, along with other variants and intermediate forms. *La Chaussée* (Cawsey, Cosway) is in Provençal *La Caussade*, and *Salcède*, drawn and quartered in 1582, was a southerner who in the north would have been *Saussaye*, willow-grove (Lat. *salicetum*). *Canrobert*,

corresponding to such an English name as Robertshaw, contains the Normand-Picard word for *champ*, the normal form of which is preserved in *Changarnier*, Warner's field. With the latter goes the heroic *Chandos* (Bonefield). The famous actor *Lekain* had a name which is a variant of *Lequien*, a dialect form of *Lechïen*. *Belloc* is the southern form of *Beaulieu*, *Castelnau* of *Châteauneuf*. *Corday* is dialect for *Cordier* (Corder, Roper), *Boileau* is found also as *Boilaive*, *Boilève*, *Boylesve*, and *Taine* is an archaic or local pronunciation of *Toine*, for *Antoine*. So also we have archaic spellings in *Langlois*, as common a name in France as French and Francis are in England, *Picquart*, the Picard (Pickard), and *Lescure*, i.e. *l'écuyer* (Squire). In fact, while some names gradually change their sound and spelling in conformity with those of the words from which they are derived, others, and perhaps the majority, preserve archaic forms which affect their pronunciation and disguise their origin. A tadpole is called in French *têtard*, while in Old French a man with a big head was nicknamed *Testard*, a name which is still common by the side of *Tétard*. Also many of the variations which occur are due to the date of adoption. A name acquired in the twelfth century will not have the same form as one that dates from the fifteenth, e.g. the nickname *Rey* (King) is older than *Leroy*, and *Levesque* is obviously anterior to *Lévêque* (Bishop, Levick). *Souvestre* represents the Old French form of Silvester, of which *Silvestre* is a modern restored spelling.

Taking in order the four classes of names, baptismal, local, occupative, descriptive, it is interesting to notice the resemblances and differences in the methods

by which surnames are created and multiplied in the two languages. We have in English more than a dozen names derived from William, without taking into account those with an initial G (Gill, Gillott, Gilkes, etc.) which belong to the French form Guillaume. Williams, Williamson are English formations to which French has no exact parallel, and, although the prefix in Fitzwilliam is the French word *fils*, French surnames of this type are very rare. But we also shorten William to Will and create by diminutive suffixes Willy, Willett, Willing, Wilcocks, Wilkin, Wilkes, etc. French proceeds in the same way, but with much greater freedom, e.g. *Guillaumet, Guillaumin, Guillaumot, Guillaumy, Guille, Guillemain, Guillemard, Guillemat, Gillemaud, Guillemeau, Guillemenot, Guillemin, Guillemineau, Guillemot, Guillermin, Guillet, Guilliet, Guillon, Guillot, Guillotin, Guillon, Guilmet, Guilmin*, and a few dozen more,[1] piling one diminutive suffix on to another *ad infinitum*. Shortened forms such as *Joffre* from *Joffroy* (Jeffrey), *Foch* from *Fochier, Fouché* (Fulcher) are easy to recognize, and the addition of suffixes, as in *Joffrin, Geoffrin, Joffron, Joffrenot*, presents no difficulty.

So far things are simple. But the tendency of French, with its stress on the last syllable, is more often in the direction of the decapitation of a name, as in our Bert for Herbert. Simple examples are *Colas* for *Nicolas, Nisard* for *Denisard, Bastien* for *Sebastien, Jamin* for *Benjamin, Stophe, Stofflet* for *Christophe*. But after this decapitation there generally begins a chain of names which is very difficult to trace, e.g.

[1] Including dialect forms in *W-* and *V-*, e.g. *Wuillemin, Wilmotte, Villemain*, etc.

from *Thomas* we get *Mas, Massé,*[1] *Masset, Massenet, Massillon,* and eventually, by a new decapitation, *Sillon,* which only preserves the final letter of the original name. So from *Garaud* (Jerrold) we have *Raud, Rod, Rodin,* and from *Bernard* come not only *Bernardin, Bernadot, Bernadotte,* but also *Nadaud, Nadot,* while these may go on to *Daudet, Dottin,* etc. This is a game to which there is no limit, and, as names can be dealt with both head and tail, it is often impossible to decide how a series has begun. Such a name as *Bert,* with its *Berthon, Berthollet, Bertilleau,* etc., may be from the first syllable of *Bertrand, Berthélemy* (Bartholomew), etc., or from the final of *Albert, Hubert,* etc. Similarly *Nicot* may belong to *Nicolas* or *Janicot,* the latter name a diminutive of Jean, and possibly the origin of our *Jellicoe, Garot* may represent *Garaud* (Jerrold) or *Margarot* (Margetts, Meggitt), *Filon* may come from Philippe or Théophile. This love of derivatives is especially characteristic of French onomatology, while in English the practice exists, though in a much more restricted degree, e.g. Philip, Philpot, Pott, Potkins. On the other hand, French has not our trick of riming names (Dick, Hick, from Richard, Dob, Hob, from Robert).

Hence the French surname groups of baptismal origin are much larger than ours. Jean and Étienne (Stephen) are said to have each more than one hundred derivatives, while Pierre has about two hundred. It will be noticed that these most popular font-names are all Biblical. So also the Easter name Pascal has a large number of derivatives, e.g. *Pasquin, Pâquin, Pasquet, Pasquier,* etc., and, among female names,

[1] *Massé* is also for Matthew.

the great saints such as Marie, Catherine, Marguerite, head the list, e.g. *Mariette, Mariotte, Riotte,*[1] *Marat, Marot; Catinat, Cathelineau, Linel; Margot, Margoton, Got,* etc. The relative popularity in France of Biblical and Teutonic font-names has varied in the past. Before the Frankish conquest practically all the saints and martyrs[2] of Gaul have Greco-Latin names, though a few of Teutonic origin appear by the fifth century. By the eighth century the latter are in a majority, and by the twelfth the Greco-Latin names are swamped by the new-comers. In modern France these once so popular names, Béranger, Fouquier, Garnier, Gautier, Lambert, Oger, Regnard, etc., all of which have also given English surnames, have mostly fallen out of use, though very common as surnames. A few, such as Charles, Edouard, Henri, Louis, Robert, are still popular, but, speaking generally, French parents have gone back for the names of their children to the Bible and the Greco-Latin martyrology, e.g. Jean, Thomas, Philippe, Pierre; Alexandre, Eugène, Théophile, Victor, etc.

French surnames of baptismal origin are occasionally accompanied by the article, *Landrieux, Lasimonne,* and also by the preposition *de* and *à, Demichel, Dubertrand, Aladenise.* These compounds had possessive force, just as in modern rustic French "l'enfant à la Martine" means Martine's child. Such surnames formed from female names do not as a rule point to illegitimacy, but rather to the importance of the mother in the French family. Martin's wife was called *La*

[1] This may be equally well an abstract nickname; cf. *Ryott* (p. 220).

[2] It should be remembered that French Christian names are usually taken from the Calendar, the name given being that of the saint on whose feast the child is born.

Martine and ruled the roost. Another peculiarity of French surnames of this class is the frequency with which they are qualified by an adjective. In English we have as a rule only compounds of John, e.g. Littlejohn, Meiklejohn, Prettyjohn, etc., with an occasional Goodwillie or Gawkroger (see p. 242), but in French most common font-names are thus used. On his last visit to England President Poincaré was accompanied by Captain *Grandclément*. Cf. *Bonbernat* (Bernard), *Beaujean*, *Grandcolas* (Nicolas), *Petitperrin* (Pierre), *Maugirard* (Gérard), *Grosclaude*. Sometimes the article is also used, e.g. *Lepetitdidier*, from one of the few French names (Desiderius) which have never flourished in England. In France this name has been prolific, e.g. *Didon*, *Didot*, *Diderot*, etc.

French surnames of local origin may, like their English companions, range in order from a country to a plant, e.g. *Despagne* (Spain), *Lenormand* (Norman), *Damiens* (Amyas), *Dupuis* (Wells), *Lacroix* (Cross, Crouch), *Delpierre* (Stone), *Lépine* (Thorne), *Despois* (Pease), but, while our names have, except in a few cases such as Atterbury, Bythesea, Delahunte (pp. 48–52), shed both preposition and article, French more often keeps both. So we find *Croix*, *Lacroix*, *Delacroix*, *Salle*, *Lasalle*, *Delasalle*, whence sometimes our *Sale*. With names of towns beginning with a vowel *de* is commonly prefixed, e.g. *Davignon*, *Davranche*. Moreover, every French town has a corresponding adjective, a privilege accorded in this country only to the capital. So *Bourgeois*, besides being a descriptive name (Burgess), may mean the man from Bourges, while *Boulnois*, also well established in England, indicates an inhabitant of Boulogne.

More interesting than names taken from specific places are those derived from common names, the majority of which belong, like our Clough, Hay, Shaw, Croft, etc., to the archaic and provincial vocabulary. To-day (Oct. 13, 1915) we read that Admiral *de Lapeyrère* has been succeeded by Admiral *du Fournet*. The first represents *perrière*, a stone quarry, whence our *Perrers*, the second is a diminutive of *four*, an oven. The importance of the public oven in medieval France is attested by the frequent occurrence of the surname *Dufour*. In *Dussault* we have Old French *sault*, a marsh, wood, in *Dumas* a southern word for a "manse" or homestead, in *Dumesnil* (Meynell) a diminutive of the same word. *Lapommeraye*, equivalent to our Appleyard, has given us Pomeroy. *Duplessis* comes from the "pleached" enclosure which, as Scott reminds us in the first chapter of *Quentin Durward*, has given a name to so many French villages. In *Dubailleul* we have an Old French word for a fort or "bailey," and the origin of a luckless royal name (*Balliol*). *Despréaux*, of the meadows, a name assumed by Boileau, has given us *Diprose*, while the common *Ferté*, *Laferté* is an Old French name for a fortress, Latin *firmitas*. In *Duquesne* we have the Norman form of *chêne*, an oak, and *Dupuy* contains what was once the regular French name for a hill. This word is the origin of our "pew." In fact *Dupuy* has become *Depew* in America. *Delcassé* probably means "of the hut"; Blois del Casset was a Knight of the Round Table. *Pertuis*, hole, is well established in England as *Pertwee*, and the well-known *Maupertuis*, the name of Renard's den in the old romance, has a parallel in William Foulhole (*Nott. Court R.* 1308).

When we come to occupative names, we are again confronted by crowds of diminutives. Corresponding to our Shepherd we find not only *Berger, Leberger, Labergère*, but also *Bergerat, Bergeret, Bergeron, Bergerot*, to quote only the most frequent variants, while *Boucher* gives us *Boucharin, Bouchereau, Boucheron, Bouchet*, etc., and of course *Leboucher* and *Labouchère*. In a recent casualty list occurred the Canadian names *Dansereau* and *Mercereau*. We have no native English parallel to such names, though *Cantrell, Chantrell*, derived from French *Chantereau, Chanterelle* is not uncommon.

Corresponding to our names like Monks, Parsons, Reeves, which meant originally the monk's servant, the parson's son, etc., we find a number of French occupative names preceded by *de* or *à*, e.g. *Dufaure, Augagneur*. The word *gagneur*, contained in the name of the late French Minister of Marine, was used in Old French for any thriving worker. With this formation we may compare *Auprêtre*, the origin of our *Allpress*, which was in 1273 spelt Alprest (*Hund. R.*). In 1235 Jordan le fiz Alprestre, i.e. Jordan the priest's son, was lodged in Nottingham gaol on an accusation of homicide (*Pat. R.*).

Many of our occupative names represent obsolete trades and callings, e.g. Fletcher, the arrow-maker, Frobisher, the furbisher of armour, Catchpole, the constable. So also we find among common French surnames *Fléchier, Laumonier* (almoner, Amner), *Verdier* (forester), *Larmurier* (Armour), *Larbalestier* (Arblaster, Alabaster). Or existing names are taken from archaic and dialect names for occupations, e.g. *Meissonnier*, the harvester (cf. our Mawer), *Sabatier*,

the southern form of *savetier*, a cobbler, *Lesueur*, the shoemaker (Sutor), *Molinier*, the miller (Mulliner), *Pellissier*, the maker of fur cloaks (Pilcher), *Lequeux*, the cook, *Ferron*, the smith (Fearon), *Grangier*, the farmer (Granger), *Lemire*, the physician (Myer), *Marillier*, the churchwarden, *Perrier*, the quarryman, *Teissier*, the weaver, and many more.

On French nicknames, as on English, a very big book could be written. There is no name of bird or beast, no epithet, complimentary or spiteful, but usually the latter, which has not been used to form a surname. Some are of incredibly fantastic formation, others of unquotable grossness. Here I will only mention some which are connected with famous men, or which are of special interest at the present moment. To begin with, President *Poincaré's* name means "square fist," an honest sort of weapon, which is at an initial disadvantage against the mailed, or knuckle-duster, variety. By an odd coincidence two of General Joffre's ablest lieutenants, *Maud'huy* and *Maunoury*, bear ancient nicknames of identical meaning. *Maud'huy* is an artificial spelling of the common name *Mauduit*. William Mauduit was Chamberlain to the Conqueror and founded the *Mawditt* family. The name is derived from Lat. *male doctus*, ill taught, by which it is commonly rendered in medieval documents. *Maunoury* is from *mal-nourri*, where *nourri* has its Old French sense of reared, educated.[1] The opposite *Biennourry* also exists and corresponds to the well-known German name *Wolzogen* (*wohl erzogen*). The name *Écorcheville* has also won honour in the war.

[1] It may also have the modern meaning; cf. William Wellefedd (*F. of Y.* 1397).

It is a mild alteration of the medieval Escorchevieille, skin old woman, a very brutal nickname, with numerous parallels in French and English (see p. 256). Cf. the existing surname *Pellevillain*, flay serf (p. 257). Names formed in this way from a verb are very common in both languages. Cf. French *Chasseloup*, hunt wolf, whence our deceptive *Catchlove*, *Chassepot*, not the pot-hunter, but the seeker after gratuitous meals, *Gardebois*, the "woodward," *Fatout* (*fac-totum*), or our own Shakespeare, Golightly, Doolittle, etc.

The simpler kinds of nicknames formed directly from adjectives or nouns are generally accompanied by the article, e.g. *Lebas* (Bass), *Lebel* (Bell), *Lerouge* (Rudge), *Larousse* (Rouse), *Laigle* (Eagle), *Leveau* (Veal), *Lesturgeon* (Sturgeon). When an adjective and noun are combined, the article is more often omitted, e.g. *Bonvallet* (Goodhind), *Petigas* (Littleboy), *Blanchemain* (Whitehand), though it is also found in such names, e.g. *Lepetitcorps* (Lightbody). Adjective nicknames also form innumerable derivatives. In English we have the name Jolly and its older form Joliffe. French has *Joly*, *Joliot*, *Jolivard*, *Jolivaud*, *Jolivet*, etc., while the derivations of *Bon*, such as *Bonnard*, *Bonnet*, *Bonneau*, *Bonnel*, *Bonneteau*, etc., run into dozens. This applies also to a less extent to names derived from animals. Corresponding to our Bull, Bullock, we have not only French *Lebœuf*, but also *Bouvet*, *Bouvot*, *Bouvelet*, *Bouvard*, *Bouveau*, though some of these may also be formed from the occupative name *Bouvier* (Buller).

To sum up, French surnames are very like English, the chief points of difference being the retention of prepositions and the article, the common decapitation

of baptismal names, and the extraordinary power of multiplication by means of diminutive suffixes. There is also hardly a well-established French name which is not found in England, whether it " came over with the Conqueror," was imported during the Middle Ages, at the Huguenot migration, or in quite recent times. And, generally speaking, the earlier its introduction, the greater will be its divergence from the modern French form and the difficulty of establishing their identity.

Those interested in this harmless amusement will find pastime, and perhaps some profit, in analysing any group of well-known French names. If we take, for instance, the chief writers associated with the golden age of French literature, viz. *Descartes, Pascal, Malebranche, Corneille, Racine, Molière, La Fontaine, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, La Bruyère, La Rochefoucauld,* and the already explained *Boileau* and *Massillon,* we shall find that they can all be assigned, though in some cases conjecturally, to one of the four groups. *Pascal* is a baptismal name associated with the Easter festival, and *Corneille* is probably from Cornelius, though it may be a nickname (Crowe). Obvious local names are *La Fontaine* and *La Bruyère* (Moore), while *La Rochefoucauld* is from the rock fortress of *Foucauld,*[1] the old Teutonic Folcwald, or ruler of the people. *Descartes* is probably local, from OF. *quarte,* a certain area in the outskirts of a town, and *Bourdaloue* looks like a corruption of *bord de l'eau* (Bywater). *Racine* is much commoner in France than the corresponding Root in England. *Molière,* the name adopted by

[1] " The French submarine *Foucault* sank an Austrian cruiser in the neighbourhood of Cattaro " (Reuter, Jan. 15, 1916).

Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, is Old French for a quarry from which mill-stones are obtained. *Malebranche* is an uncomplimentary nickname of the same type as *Malherbe* or the Italian *Malaspina*, and *Bossuet* means the little hunchback.

CHAPTER XIV

GERMAN SURNAMES

" Ça obéit magnifiquement, surtout aux ordres appuyés de coups de bottes " (CLAUDE FARRÈRE).

GERMAN surnames, like English and French, are of four origins. They may be baptismal, local, occupative, or nicknames. Taking as examples four names famous in literature, *Goethe,* like his hero *Goetz,* is an abbreviation of one of the numerous Old German names in *God,* e.g. *Gottfried* (Godfrey, Jeffrey), *Gotthardt* (Goddard), etc., Hans *Sachs* was of Saxon descent, the ancestors of *Schopenhauer* were " hewers " of " scoops," and *Schiller* is a Swabian form of *Schieler,*[1] squinter. As is natural in the case of a language so closely allied to our own, many German names, in fact the great majority, not only correspond in meaning but also in form with English names. If Herr *von Bethmann-Hollweg* were an Englishman, he would be Mr. *Bateman-Holloway.* Similarly, the famous general whose name is borne by the elusive *Goeben* would have been in English Gubbins, both names going back by devious ways to *Gottbrecht,* God bright (Godber).

Of the four classes of surnames the oldest is that

[1] Cf. our *Skeel,* originally a Norse nickname, the squinter [Sceal f. Colbain, *Lib. Vit.*]

which is composed of baptismal names, sometimes surviving in full, but generally made almost unrecognizable by all manner of abridgement, mutilation, and dialect variation. The correspondence of these Teutonic dithemetic names with those of Greece has already been noticed (p. 27). Other examples are *Dietrich*, people powerful, i.e. Demosthenes, *Ludwig*, glorious fight, i.e. Clytomachus, *Vilmar*, greatly famous, i.e. Pericles, *Conrad*, bold counsel, i.e. Thrasybylus. In process of time these musical names of heroic meaning, such as *Eberhard*, boar strong (Everett), *Günther*, battle army (Gunter), *Megenhard*, might strong (Maynard), *Hubrecht*, bright counsel (Hubbard), *Römheld*, fame ruling (Rumbold), etc., have often been reduced to cacophonous monosyllables distinguished by great economy of vowels. Still, unattractive as their present form may be, these names belong to the oldest period of the race, and *Bugge*, *Bopp*, *Dietz*, *Dankl*, and *Kluck* have as much right to look down on most of their polysyllabic neighbours as our own Bugg, Bubb, etc., on such upstarts as Napier, Pomeroy, Percy, and Somerset, for are they not the modern representatives of the heroic *Burghart*, castle strong, *Bodebrecht*, rule bright, *Dietrich*, people mighty, *Dankwart*, reward guardian, and *Chlodowig*,[1] glorious victory ?

Dankl, the Austrian general, and the redoubtable *Kluck* illustrate the two chief ways of forming diminutives of German names, the essential element of such diminutives being *l* in the south and *k* in the north. Other examples are *Bebel* (Badbrecht), *Handel* (Handolf), *Hebbel* (Hadubrecht), *Ranke* (Randolf), *Tieck* (Theobald), etc. Another very common ending is *z*, or *sch*,

[1] Hence Ludwig, Clovis, Louis.

and often these elements are combined in one and the same name. This appears in the names of the two teachers of modern Germany, *Nietzsche* and *Treitschke*. I have seen it stated that both these sages were of Slavonic origin, their names being quoted in support of the statement. Without knowing anything of their genealogy, I have no hesitation in stating their names to be pure German. It is not unfitting that the crazy degenerate who loathed his own nation and succeeded in sending it mad should have a name which is the diminutive of *Neid*, envy, the first element in *Niedhardt*, envy strong, while *Treitschke* goes back also appropriately to *Drudi* or *Thrudr*, one of the Walkyries, or "death choosers."

The third of the illustrious trio, *Bernhardi*, belongs to a different group, and incidentally, the regular collocation of his name with those of a madman of genius and of a considerable scholar must surprise even himself. When the full baptismal name becomes a surname in German, it usually does so in an unaltered form. Genitives such as *Peters* and patronymics such as *Mendelssohn* (son of Immanuel), *Mackensen* (son of Mack), are not common, and are usually of Low German origin. Thus we generally find simply *Arnold, Hildebrand, Oswald*, etc. But in a large number of cases a latinized form of the genitive occurs, so that *Bernhardi*, which I have seen explained as Italian, is a survival of some such name as Johannes filius *Bernhardi*; cf. such names as *Bartholdy, Henrici, Jacoby, Matthaei, Nicolai*, etc.

In the case of the non-German names which came in with Christianity, as often as not the last syllable has survived instead of the first, e.g. *Hans* from

Johannes, *Klaus* from Nicolaus, *Möbius* from Bartholomæus, *Bastel* from Sebastian, *Grethe* from Margarete, and these shortened forms lend themselves to further endless variations. *Hans*, like our John, is so common as to need qualification. I once lived in Switzerland in a house which contained three of the name, who for purposes of distinction were known as Johannes, Hans, and Hensli. So, corresponding to our Mickle-john, Littlejohn, etc. (p. 242), we find in German not only *Aldejohann, Jungjohann, Grossjohann, Lütjens*, etc., but also *Langhans, Kleinhans, Guthans, Schwarzhans*, and many more. But this subject is endless, and space only allows of the above brief indications.

Names of local origin may range from an empire to a tree, and may be either nouns or adjectives, e.g. *Oestreich, Preuss, Schottländer, Polack, Czech, Elsässer, Hess, Flemming, Bremer* (from Bremen), *Kammerich* (Cambrai), *Backhaus* [1] (Backhouse), *Fichte* (fir), *Beerbohm* (Low German for pear-tree), *Grünewald* (Greenwood), *Kreuz* (Cross), *Eck* (Corner), etc. More often than in English such names are accompanied by the endings *-er* and *-mann* (cf. our Bridger, Bridgman), hence *Berger* (Mountain), *Brunner* (Fountain), *Kappler* (Chappell), *Heinemann* (Grove), *Winckelmann* (Corner), *Hoffmann* (Stead), etc.

It is probable that the majority of modern German surnames are of local origin, easily recognized by such characteristic endings as *-au*, originally island, now wet meadow-land, as in *Gneisenau*; *-horst*, wood (Hurst), as in *Scharnhorst*; *-ow*, a Slavonic ending often confused with *-au*, as in *Bülow, Jagow*; *-itz*, also Slavonic,

[1] It means "bake-house," while our *Backhouse, Bacchus* is both for "bake" and "back."

as in *Tirpitz*; *-brück*, bridge, as in *Delbrück*; *-stein*, stone, as in *Bieberstein*; *-hain*, hedge, grove (Hayne), as in *Falkenhayn*; *-dorf*, village (Thorp), as in *Bernstorff*; *-burg*, castle (Burrough), as in *Dernburg, Hindenburg*; *-reut*, clearing (Royd), as in *Kalckreut*; *-berg*, mountain (Barrow), as in *Gutenberg*, and many others. But the study of these names belongs to topography. As in the corresponding English names we come across many obsolete and dialect words, such as *Kamp* or *Kampf*, an early loan from Lat. *campus*, whence *Rennenkampf*, race-course, a German name borne by a Russian general, and *Kuhl*, pool, so that Baron *Kuhlmann*, late of London, is a German Pullman. In many cases surnames of local origin are still preceded by prepositions and the article (for English examples see pp. 49–52), e.g. *Anderbrugg, Vorderbrugg, Ingenohl*,[1] a corruption of *in dem Ohl*, a dialect name for a tract of good agricultural land, *Biedenweg* (Bytheway), *Vorbusch, Zumbusch, von der Heyde* (Heath), *von der Tann* (Pine), LG. *ter Meer* (Bythesea), etc.

This brings us to the question of *von*, so grievously misused by writers on the war, some of whom ought to know better. This preposition simply means "of" and was originally put with nearly all local surnames. It is still so used in some parts of Switzerland, where I have had my boots mended and my shirts washed by *vons* dating back to the Middle Ages. It gradually dropped, like the *del, de la*, etc., which we find in our own medieval Rolls; but, corresponding to our own Delmar, Delafield, Delamoor, etc. (p. 51), we find a few survivals, such as *von der Tann, von der*

[1] Admiral von Ingenohl was succeeded by Admiral von Pohl (Pool).

Goltz,[1] *von der Heyde*, etc., in which the retention is generally due to the ennobling of these families. As *von* came to be recognized as the nobiliary prefix, it got added to names of all descriptions. For instance, the name of Lieutenant *von Forstner*, renowned for his epic onslaught on the lame cobbler of Saverne, merely means Forster (forester), and Colonel *von Reuter*, who commanded the regiment involved, has one of the commonest of German names, meaning a "clearer of land," related to Bai*reut*, Wernige*rode*, the *Rütli*, etc. So we find *von Schmidt*, *von Kleinschmitt*, *von Müller*, *von Zimmermann* (Carpenter), *von Kettler* (Tinker), *von Bernhardi*, *von Kluck*, *von Moltke*, the last name being a diminutive of the same class as *Kluck*, possibly from Matilda; cf. our *Mault*, *Mould*.

Now, it is curious that we English, who never dream of saying *von Bismarck*, which would be excusable in the case of a territorial name (the bishop's mark or frontier), will insist on *von Moltke*, *von Kluck*, etc., which, in German, is a vulgarism only committed by the sort of people who in English address letters to "Mr. Smith, Esquire," or refer to a clergyman as "the Rev. Jones." Of course when the full title is given, the *von* is used, e.g. General *von Kluck*, Herr *von Jagow*, but otherwise it should always be omitted. The exception is a name like *von der Tann*, including the article, where the *von* is original and logical. The Germans have a cruiser called the *von der Tann*, but

[1] I can find no trace in Old German of this word used as a topographical term, but in a German document of the year 1500 dealing with a grant of land occurs the word *Goltzweg*. Professor Fiedler, of Oxford, ingeniously suggests to me that this may be MHG. *golze*, pair of breeches (Lat. *calcea*), applied to a fork in the road.

the *Gneisenau, Scharnhorst, Moltke,* and *Blücher* appear, or did when this chapter was written, without the particle.

Many corresponding Dutch names in *van* are well established in England, e.g. the obvious *Vandam, Vandervelde, Vandersteen,* while the more aristocratic *Vansittart* is from the Netherland town Sittard. Sometimes it combines with the article to produce the prefix *Ver-* as in *Vereker* (acre), *Verschoyle* (*schuyl,* shelter).

Occupative names are in German more numerous than in English. This is due to the national tendency to elaborateness of description and differentiation. We are generally satisfied with the simple *-er,* but, corresponding to our Baker, we find in German not only *Becker* or *Beck,* but also *Kuchenbecker* (cake), *Weichbecker* (soft), *Pfannebecker* (pan), *Semmelbecker* (simnel), *Weissbecker* (white), and many others. So also the German compounds of *Schmidt* far exceed in number those of Smith. We find, among others, *Blechschmidt* (tin), *Kupferschmied* (copper), *Silberschmidt, Stahlschmidt, Hackenschmidt* (hoe), *Hufschmidt* (Shoesmith), *Schaarschmidt* (Shearsmith), *Sichelschmidt, Dorfschmidt, Rosenschmidt* (at the sign of the Rose), and about twenty more. But the commonest of all such elements is *Meyer,* farmer, the compounds of which number some hundreds.

Also we find a great number of names in *-macher,*[1] e.g. *Radermacher* (Wheeler), *Sattelmacher* (Sadler), *Schleiermacher* (veil), *Wannemacher* (bath); in *-giesser,*

[1] Names of this type were once much commoner in English (see p. 226, *n.* 1). They have generally been simplified, e.g. Robert le Jesemaker (*Hund. R.*) is now represented by *Jesser.* Dutch generally adds *-s* to occupative names, e.g. *Raekmakers* (Wheeler).

founder, e.g. *Kannengiesser, Potgieter;* in *-binder*, e.g. *Biesenbänder* (besom), *Fassbender* (cask), now appearing in the London Directory in the proverbial form Fastbinder, *Buchbinder, Bürstenbinder* (brush); in *-schneider*, cutter, tailor, e.g. *Brettschneider* (board), *Riemenschneider* (thong), *Steinschneider*; in *-hauer*, hewer, e.g. *Steinhauer* (Stanier), *Fleischhauer* (Flesher), *Holzhauer*; in *-brenner*, e.g. *Aschenbrenner* (Ashburner), *Kalckbrenner*; in *-schläger*, striker, e.g. *Kesselschläger, Lautenschläger* (lute); in *-meister*, e.g. *Sutermeister* (Lat. *sutor*), *Backmeister* (bake), *Werckmeister* (Foreman); and in *-mann*, e.g. *Sudermann* (Lat. *sutor*), *Schumann*. The obsolete *worthe*, wright, survives in both *Schubert* and *Schuchardt*. To these may be added a few other odd compounds, such as *Biengräber*, one who digs out wild bees, *Gildemeister*, guild master, *Fürbringer*, "fore-bringer," i.e. attorney, *Schwerdtfeger*, sword polisher (Frobisher), *Seidensticker*, silk embroiderer, *Saltsieder*, salt boiler, *Mussotter*, jam boiler, *Weissgerber*, white tawer (Whittier), *Leimkühler*, glue cooler. As in England, some of the commoner surnames of this class are from words now obsolete, or refer to obsolete trades, such as *Schröder, Schröter, Schröer*, tailor (shredder), *Kürschner*, maker of pelisses (Pilcher), *Krüger*, innkeeper, etc.

Forming a transition from the occupative surname to the nickname, we have those names which are indicative of rank, office, etc., and which are seldom to be taken literally.[1] We find the same series in German as in other European languages, viz. among titles, *Kaiser, König, Fürst* and *Prinz, Herzog*, with its Low German form *Hartog, Graff* (*Markgraff, Landgraff*),

[1] See chap. x.

Ritter, Junker. Of a more official character are *Kanzler* (Chancellor), *Richter* (Judge), *Probst* (Provost), *Vogt* (Lat. *vocatus*), corresponding to our Bailey, *Marschall, Hauptmann, Faehndrich* (ensign), *Bürgermeister.* Among ecclesiastical nicknames are *Papst, Bischoff, Abt, Pfaff, Mönch, Köster* (Sexton). Such names as *Armbruster* (Arblaster), *Schütz* (Archer), *Bartenwerffer,* axe-thrower, may have been of occupative origin or nicknames due to the skill of their original owners. Some interesting surnames are of domestic origin. Such is *Knecht,* which has gone down in the world as its English cognate, Knight, has gone up, with its compounds, *Gutknecht* (Goodhind) and *Liebknecht.* Other names of this class are the very common *Koch, Schenk,* butler, "skinker," *Hofmeister,* steward, head-servant, *Schatzmann,* treasurer, *Wächter,* watchman (Waite), with its compound *Saalwächter* (Hallward).

It is possible within the limits of a chapter to give only brief indications for nicknames, in many ways the most interesting of all surnames. In German we find the equivalents of all our own common surnames of this class, together with a number of examples of a grotesqueness rare in modern English. The existence of this latter class is partly due to the fact that German surnames, at least in some provinces, became hereditary at a much later date than in England, so that local wit has had less wear and tear to endure, and also to the fact that absurd names were often conferred forcibly on the Jews as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. These latter I leave out of account. All the ordinary adjectives occur, e.g. *Gross, Klein, Lang, Kurtz, Schwarz, Weiss, Roth, Grün, Hübsch* (Pretty), *Hesslich* (ugly), *Frech,* bold (Freake),

Frey, Kahl, bald (Callow), *Kluge* (Wise), *Liebe* (Leif), *Ehrlich,* honest, *Fröhlich* (Merry), *Wunderlich,*[1] etc. The article which once accompanied these names has often survived in the Low German forms, e.g. *de Witt* (White), *Devrient* (Friend), *de Beer* (Bear), *de Hoogh* (High), etc. Most names of relationship also occur, e.g. *Vater, Kind, Süsskind, Liebeskind* (Leifchild), with the compound *Kindesvater* (Barnfather), *Vetter* (Cousins), *Neef* (Neave), *Bräutigam, Ohm* (Eames), *Wittwer.*

Compounds descriptive of appearance are *Breitkopf* (Broadhead), *Grosskopf* (Greathead), *Krauskopf, Kraushaar* (Crisp), *Gelhaar* (Fairfax), *Schwartzkopf*[2] (Blackett), *Widderkop* (Ramshead, Weatherhead), and similar compounds of the alternative *Haupt,* such as *Breithaupt,* etc., *Barfuss* (Barfoot), *Katzfuss, Breitfuss* (Broadfoot), *Leichtfuss* (Lightfoot), *Langbein* (Langbain), *Krummbein* (Cruikshank), *Rehbein,* roe leg (cf. Sheepshanks), *Holbein* (hollow), *Gansauge,* goose-eye, *Dünnebacke,* thin cheek, *Dickhaut,* thick hide, *Harnack,* obstinate (hard neck). Sometimes the physical feature is emphasized without an accompanying adjective, e.g. *Haupt, Kopf* (Head), *Faust* (Fist), *Zahn* (Tooth). From costume come *Mantel, Weissmantel, Ledderhose,*[3] *Leinhos, Beckenhube* (Basnett), *Rothermel,* red sleeve, *Panzer,* hauberk (Habershon), and many others.

Birds, beasts, and fishes are well represented, especially birds, e.g. *Adler* (Eagle), *Geyer,* vulture, *Fink, Strauss,* ostrich, *Storch, Pfau* (Peacock), *Elster* (Pye),

[1] Cf. Nicholas le Merveleus (*Pat. R.*).

[2] It is curious that the Germans use the Schwartzkopff torpedo and we the Whitehead.

[3] Cf. John Letherhose (*Hund R.*), Richard Goldhose (*ib.*), and the famous Ragnar Lodbrog, hairy breeches.

Falcke, Habicht (whence Habsburg), *Hahn* (Cock), *Rebhuhn* (Partridge), *Specht*, wood-pecker (Speight), *Taube*, though this last, like *Taubmann*, may belong to *taub*, deaf, *Wildegans* (Wildgoss), etc. These, like the corresponding English surnames, were sometimes taken from the signs of houses. The same applies to animal nicknames such as *Löwe, Wolff, Fuchs*, LG. *Voss, Hase* (Hare), *Eichorn* (Squirrel), *Hirsch* (Hart), *Kalb, Schaff*, etc. Among fish-names may be mentioned *Hecht* (Pike), *Kaulbars* (Perch), *Stockfisch, Krebs* (Crabbe), but these names are, for obvious reasons, less numerous than those of birds and quadrupeds.

The two smallest classes of nicknames are those connected with coins and exclamations, represented in English by such names as Penny (p. 177) and Pardoe (p. 182). Both classes exist in German, e.g. *Hundertmark* (cf. Mrs. Centlivre), *Pfundheller, Weisspfennig, Schilling, Fünfschilling, Fünfstück*, and *Gottbehüt*, God forbid, *Gotthelf, Gottwaltz*, God rule it. With these may be mentioned a number of abstract nouns which probably became surnames at the period of the predominance of allegory (see p. 217), such are *Freude* (Joy), *Gluck* (Luck), *Dienst* (Service), *Andacht* (Worship), *Wohlfart* (Welfare), etc.

All the seasons are represented, viz. *Frühling* or *Lenz, Sommer, Herbst* (Harvest), and *Winter*, also most of the days of the week, the commonest being *Sonntag* and *Freytag*, and the feasts of the church, e.g. *Ostertag, Pfingst* (Pentecost), *Weihnacht* (Christmas). Then we have descriptive compounds such as *Wolzogen*, well-bred, *Ansorg, Ohnesorg, Kleinsorg* (Careless), *Judenfeind*, Jew-hater, *Burenfeind*, peasant-hater, *Süssenguth*, sweet and good (cf. Peter Richeangod, *Pat. R.*);

some names taken from the vegetable world, e.g. *Knobloch* (Garlick), *Wermuth* (Wormwood), *Rübsamen*, rape-seed, *Stroh* (Straw), *Erbsmehl*, pea-meal, *Gerstenkorn* (Barleycorn), etc.; and quite a number dealing with articles of food, usually preceded by an adjective, e.g. *Süssmilch*, *Sauerbrei* (broth), and especially the numerous compounds of *Brot* and *Bier*, such as *Weissbrodt* (Whitbread), *Casembrood*, cheese and bread, *Roggenbrod* (rye), *Truckenbrod* (dry), etc., and *Gutbier*, *Bösbier*, *Sauerbier*, *Zuckerbier*, etc., most of which have English parallels.

Lastly, we have the large group of phrase-names, consisting of a verb followed by a noun or an adverb, such as our Shakespeare and Golightly (ch. xii). There are probably several hundreds of these in German, almost all of which can be paralleled by modern English names, or by others which, though recorded in our Rolls, are now obsolete. Some of these are warlike, e.g. *Schüttespeer* (Shakespeare), *Haueisen* (Taillefer), *Hauenschild*, *Zuckschwerdt*, draw sword,[1] occasionally with the verb following, as in *Eisenbeiss* (Mangefer), *Manesse*, man-eater, ogre. *Sporleder*, spur leather, was probably a Hotspur, *Rumschöttel*,[2] clear dish, a glutton, *Irrgang* a wanderer, *Liesegang* a Golightly. *Regedanz*, start dance, and *Liebetanz* explain themselves. *Puttkamer*, clean room, was a Chamberlain. Common surnames belonging to this class are *Klinkhammer*, *Pochhammer* and *Schwinghammer*, *Schnapauff*, snap up, *Schlagentweit*, strike into the distance, *Füllgrabe*, fill ditch, *Füllkrug* (Filpot), *Macheprang*, make show, *Kiesewetter*, discern weather, *Kerruth*, turn out, *Hebe-*

[1] Cf. Henry Draweswerd (*Hund. R.*)

[2] Cf. Terricus Wide-escuele, i.e. *vide écuelle* (Pachnio).

streit, start quarrel (cf. p. 254, *n.* 2), *Habenicht*, have nought, *Fürchtenicht*, fear nought, *Findeisen*, find iron, *Schluckebier*, swallow beer, *Schmeckebier*, taste beer, *Trinkwasser* (Drinkwater), etc. With these cf. the obsolete English examples on pp. 270–7.

In conclusion, it may be said that there is simply no limit to the eccentricity of nicknames, though their interpretation is often a matter of conjecture. The German name *Alleweldt*,[1] all the world, has Middle English parallels Tutlemund and Altheworld. It is hard to see why a man should be nicknamed *Lindequist*, lime twig (originally Swedish), but this well-known German name is surpassed in minuteness by the French name *Brindejonc*. The names mentioned in this chapter all come, with the exception of a few of special interest at the present moment, from a recent German navy list and are in no way to be regarded as peculiar or exceptional.[2] A few other miscellaneous examples from the same source are *Rohwedder* (Fouweather, p. 235, *n.* 1), *Trurnit*, grieve not, *Mägdefrau*, maid wife, *Ehrenkönig*, honour the King, *Vogelgesang*, *Morgenrot* (Dawn), *Kränzlin* (Garland), *Hufnagel* (Horsnail), *Buttersack* (see p. 167), *Luchterhand*, left hand,[3] *Neunzig* (see p. 179), *Hochgeschurz*, high kilted, *Handewerk*, *Gutjahr* (Goodyear), *Hünerfürst*, prince of Huns, *Teufel*

[1] In Middle High German this phrase seems to have been used as an exclamation of joy and wonder. Walther von der Vogelweide, when after long waiting he received a fief from the Kaiser of his day (1220), commenced his hymn of thanks with the line—

"Ich han min lehen, *al die werlt!* ich han min lehen."

[2] Most of them enjoy the hospitality of the *London Commercial Directory* (1913).

[3] Cf. *Sinister*, OF. *senestre*, left-handed, awkward [Simon Senestre, of Dieppe, *Close R.*]. Lefthand is a ME. name.

and its compound *Manteuffel*, man devil, the latter an honourable name in German military history before the destruction of Louvain.

At the period of the Renaissance it was a very usual practice for men of learning to latinize or hellenize their names. The case of *Melanchthon* will occur to the reader. We have a few examples in English, e.g. *Torrens* (Brook), *Pontifex* (Pope), *Sutor*, shoemaker, etc. Such names are much commoner in German. Well-known examples are *Neander* (Neumann), *Sarkander* (Fleischmann), *Treviranus* (of Trier), *Curtius* (Kurz), *Vulpius* (Fuchs), *Fabricius* (Schmidt), *Pistorius* (Becker), *Avenarius* (Habermann), *Textor* (Weber), *Sartorius* (Schneider). There is actually a *Gygas* in the list from which I have compiled this chapter. Even the Brown, Jones, and Robinson of Germany, viz. *Müller*, *Meyer*, and *Schultz*, sometimes appear glorified as *Molinari*, *Agricola*, and *Prätorius*, and there is a contemporary Prussian court chaplain *Dryander* whose ancestors were named Eichmann.

CHAPTER XV

DIVERGENT ORIGINS OF SURNAMES

"En histoire, il faut se résoudre à beaucoup ignorer"
(ANATOLE FRANCE).

AN esteemed correspondent writes to the author that, owing to the many and various side-possibilities in etymology, he is inclined to think that the origins of most surnames are mere guesses, and that the whole study can only be regarded as a game or an amusement. He seems to me both right and wrong. It is perfectly easy to show, by irrefutable evidence, the derivation of the great majority of surnames, but it is at the same time impossible to say to the individual, "Your name comes from so-and-so," unless that individual has a pedigree dating back to the Middle Ages. To take a simple example, there can be no doubt as to the origin of the three names *Cordery*, rope-walk [John de la Corderie, *Cal. Gen.*], *Cordurey*, king's heart [Hugh Queorderey, *Fine R.*], *Cowdery*, Fr. *coudraie*, hazel copse [William de la Coudray, *ib.*]. But to anyone familiar with medieval orthography it is quite certain that these three names have been commonly confused, especially when borne by the peasant class, and there are modern variants such as *Caudery*, *Cordaray*,

Cowderoy, which one would be shy of assigning definitely to either of the three etymons. Hence we may say that, in the matter of the individual name, etymological certainty is possible, while genealogical certainty is problematical. Moreover, there are many common names which have several well-attested etymologies, and others that have a subsidiary origin which would never occur to superficial observation.

What, for instance, could be simpler than *Butcher*, *Child*, *Cross*, *Harrison*, *Nicholl*, *Stone*, *Wills*, and *Wood*? Yet each of these has been reinforced from sources only known to the scientific explorer. *Butcher* has nearly absorbed *Butchart*, a common Middle English font-name, which comes to us via Old French from OG. Burghart, castle strong. This would become *Butcher* as inevitably as *Punchard*,[1] Fr. *Ponsard* [Simon Ponzard, *Fine R.*], has given *Puncher*. *Child* is occasionally local [Margery atte Child, *Pat. R.*, Suss., Thomas Attechild, *Hund. R.*, Kent]. This is the Norse *keld*, a spring, as in Salkeld, whence *Sawkill*, which in the south took the form "child." Hence also *Honeychild*,[2] from a spot in Romney Marsh. *Cross*, usually local, is also a nickname [Robert le Cros, *IpM.*],

[1] Hence also *Pinkhard* or *Pinkett* (cf. Everard, Everett) and *Pinker*. Cf. *Pinkerton* from Pontchardon (Orne) [William de Pontcardun, *Fine R.*].

[2] Apparently "honey spring." There are a good many names in *Honey-*, some from specific place-names, e.g. *Honeybourne* (*Honeybun*, *Hunnybun*), *Honeychurch*, *Honeycomb*, and others, e.g. *Honeysett*, *Honeywell*, *Honeywood*, which correspond to no known locality. I have a suspicion that in some cases this *Honey-* is an alteration of the much more natural *Holy-*, a phonetic change common in both place-names and surnames. The *EDD.* gives "Honeyfathers!" as an expression of surprise used in Yorkshire, and explains it as "sweet saints." Is it not rather "holy saints"?

an alteration of Fr. *gros*.[1] *Harrison* has swallowed up the medieval nickname *hérisson*, hedge-hog [William Herizun, *Testa de Nev.*]. Hence also *Hearson*, while *Harsum*, *Hearsom*, *Hersom* may belong here or to the ME. *hearsum*, ready to hear, obedient. By an odd metathesis the Normans transformed Lincoln into Nicol, of very common occurrence in medieval chronicles, hence *Nicholl*, *Nicoll* is often local [Alured de Nicol, *Close R.*, Thomas de Nichole, *Hund. R.*]. *Stone*, usually local, is sometimes short for one of the Anglo-Saxon names in *Stan-*, such as Stancytel, Stangrim, Stanheard, etc. [Robert Ston, *Ramsey Cart.*]. This applies also of course to *Stanes*, *Staines*. *Wills* is sometimes a variant of *Wells* [John atte Wille, *Pat. R.*]. Hence *Atwill*, *Honeywill*, *Twills* (p. 50). *Wood* is often a nickname from the obsolete *wood*, mad [Peter le Wod, *Pat. R.*, Robert le Wode, *Close R.*]; cf. Robert le Madde (*Lanc. Court R.* 1323–4), Ralph Badintheheved (*Hund. R.*). This is also one origin of *Woodman*; cf. Alexander Wodeclerc (*Close R.*), i.e. the crazy priest, and Walter Wodeprest (*Malmesbury Abbey Reg.*). *Wallis*, *Welch*, etc., may occasionally mean French, as the early Norman settlers before the Conquest were called *walisc* by the English (see *Romance of Words*, p. 151). Even the ubiquitous and simple *Smith* is sometimes local, of the *smeeth*, or plain (see *Athersmith*, p. 50), and is also a nickname, the "smooth" [Philip le Smethe, *Hund. R.*]. Cf. *Smeathman*. It need hardly be said that some *Thompsons* come from Thompson (Norf.), an example of *'s ton*

[1] Hence also the adj. *coarse*, earliest form *cors*, a metathesis of *cros*. Every shade of meaning in which *coarse* is employed has a parallel in *gross* and Fr. *gros*.

becoming *-son* (see p. 240), while others represent the baptismal dims. Thomasin, Thomasine [Bartholomew Thomasyn, *City F.*].

These examples show sufficiently that even the simplest and commonest surnames are sometimes less simple than they look. But in some cases the multiplicity or choice of origins is quite obvious. The common name *Burnett* may be (1) baptismal, for Burnard, Bernard, AS. Beornheard, (2) a nickname, dim. of brown, or from the material called *burnet* (see p. 154), (3) a nickname, "brown head" (see p. 128), (4) local, at the "burn head," cf. *Beckett*, (5) local, at the "burn gate" (see p. 91). It has also interchanged freely with *Barnett*, which is generally of identical origin. The rather less common *Burnell* may be for Beornweald [Simon Bernald, *Pat. R.*], Beornhild [Geoffrey Burnild, *Hund. R.*], Beornwulf [Geoffrey Burnolf, *Fine R.*], from "burn hill" [Richard de Burnhul, *Pat. R.*], or it may be a nickname from "brown" [Burnellus Venator, *Doc. Ill.*], in which sense it is used indifferently with the preceding name [Alan Burnell *or* Burnet, *Pat. R.*]. Probably in the case of these two names all the origins indicated are represented by the existing surname. But, if we take the rather uncommon *Burret*, we find that the possible etymologies are hardly less numerous. Is it, for instance, for *Burrard*, from an Anglo-Saxon name in *Burg-*, such as Burgweard, Burgheard, Burgweald, all well attested in the Rolls, or for "boar head" [Robert Burheved, *Fine R.*], or for the "bower head" [Walter de la Burethe, *Hund. R.*]? In the case of so uncommon a name it is probable that one only of these prototypes is represented.

There are, however, many well-diffused names which,

like *Burnett*, have several clear origins. Such is *Low*, generally local, at the "low,"[1] or mound [Ralph de la Lowe, *Hund. R.*], probably also at the "lough," and also a nickname, the wolf [William le Lou, *City B.*]. The existence of *High* and *Bass* shows that the entry "le lowe" is often for the English adjective, and *Low* is also one of the shortened forms of Lawrence; hence *Lowson*. *Drew* is from the name Drogo, of uncertain origin [Drogo f. Ponz, *DB.*], and is also a nickname from OF. *dru*, which has two meanings, viz. "lover" and "sturdy" [John le Dreu, *Hund. R.*]. It is occasionally an aphetic form of Andrew. *Druce* is the same as the above, from OF. Drues, the nom. case of the name Drogo, or for the patronymic *Drews*. It is also local, of Dreux (Eure-et-Loire), in which case it may represent the name of the town [Herman de Drewes, *DB.*] or the adjective formed from it [Hugh le Drueis, *Close R.*].

Angell and *Angle* [Robert en le Aungle, *Fine R.*] have been confused, to the advantage of the former, which is both a pageant nickname (see p. 209) and a personal name [Angel Clericus, *Malmesbury Abbey Reg.*]. But these names also represent a contracted form of the Norse *Ankettle* [Henry Angetil *or* Angel, *Pat. R.*]; cf. the contractions of *Thurkettle* (p. 31). *Wynn* has three origins, Welsh *gwyn*, white, fair, AS. *wine*, friend, or the same word as an element in such personal names as *Winfrey*, *Winward*, etc. (p. 43). *Hogg* is a nickname [Alice le Hog, *Hund. R.*], a variant of *Hough*,[2] i.e. hill [Richard del Hog, *Writs of Parl.*], a

[1] In the north *Law*.

[2] Cf. Cape la Hogue and the hillock called Hooghe at the point of the famous Ypres salient.

variant of *Hugh* or *How* [Hogge the neldere, *Piers Plowm.*, variant readings, Hugh the nedelere, Houwe the neldere [1]]. *Ware* is local for *Weir*, also from AS. *wara*, a common Domesday word used for an outlying part of a manor,[2] and is a nickname, the "ware," or wary [Adam le War, *Feet of Fines*]—

"A Sergeant of the Lawe, *war* and wys" (Chauc. A. 309).

There is also no reason why it should not come from *ware*, merchandise. *Marchandise* is a fairly common French surname and is found also in our records [Ralph Marchaundise, *Northumb. Ass. R.* 1256–78].

The above are simple cases which require no philological knowledge. Less obvious is the double origin of the series *Gale, Gales, Gall, Gaul, Gallon.* The first is from "gaol" and the second from Wales, Fr. Galles, but all are also baptismal [John Gale, *Pleas*, Thomas Galyen, *ib.*], from an OF. Gal, Galon, which is OG. Walo, short for some name such as Walter. Both the *G-* and *W-* forms are found in Old French [Galo *or* Walo, Bishop of Paris, *Ramsey Cart.*]. Thus the above series of names are sometimes identical with *Wale, Wales, Wall, Waule, Wallen* [Richard f. Wale *or* Wales, *Pipe R.*]. *Gales* has a further possible origin, of Galicia [Piers Galicien, *Exch. R.*, John de Galiz, *ib.*]—

"Of tydynges in Wales
And of Sainct James in *Gales*"
(Skelton, *Elynour Rummyng*, 354).

Similar cases are *Gass, Gash, Gaze, Gasson* [3] [Robert

[1] See p. 166.
[2] See Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 115–7.
[3] The forms in *-on* are the Old French accusative.

Gace,[1] *Pat. R.*] for *Wace, Wass, Wash, Wason.* They come from OG. Waso, which belongs to the adj. *hwas,* sharp [Walter Wasce, *Feet of Fines,* Richard Wason, *IpM.*]. Forms of this adjective are still in English dial. use, and the name *Wass* is consequently also a nickname [Henry le Was, *IpM.*]. Finally, like *Wash,* it is local, from ME. *wase,* ooze, pool, whence specifically the Wash [Richard atte Wase, *Hund. R.,* Norf.]. So also *Gate, Gates* may be identical with *Waite,* i.e. watchman, from the OF. *gaite* [Adam le Gayt *or* de la Geyte, *Exch. R.*].

Less complicated are the four origins of *Perry,* (1) for Peter or Pierre, (2) for Peregrine, (3) for Welsh *Parry,* i.e. ap Harry, (4) local, at the pear-tree, ME. *pirie,* whence also *Pirie, Pury* [Alexander atte Pery, *City F.,* Richard de la Pirie, *Hund R.*]—

> "And thus I lete hym sitte upon the *pyrie,*
> And Januarie and May romynge myrie"
> (Chauc. E. 2217).

There is scarcely a common surname, except those of easily understood frequency, like Baker, Green, Field, etc., which could not be dealt with in the same way, and, at the risk of wearying the reader, I will give a few more examples. *Garland* is certified as a nickname by the synonymous Ger. *Krantz, Kränzl.* It may have been taken from the sign of an inn—

> "The *Garland* in Little East Cheape, sometime a brewhouse" (Stow).

In the north it runs parallel with *Gartland,* i.e. the "garth land." It was also a personal name [Bartholo-

[1] Ménage refers to Wace the chronicler as Gasse. *Swash* is the same name with prefixed *S-* [Guacio *or* Swacio de Limeriis, *Salisb Cart.*].

mew f. Gerland, *Pipe R.*], perhaps originally a nickname from OF. *grailler*, to cry hoarsely, croak, etc., which would explain its use as a dog's name in Chaucer. Cf. also Richard James called Greylond (*Lond. Wills*). The commonest source of *Ray* is probably OF. *rei*, a king. It is also for *Rae*, the northern form of the animal nickname *Roe*, and we cannot doubt that it is often for the local *Wray* (p. 84) and *Ree* (p. 71), and is also a costume nickname (p. 154). *Swan* is a nickname [Hugh le Swon, *Hund. R.*, Walter le Cigne, *Close R.*]. It also represents AS. *swan*, herdsman, which we have replaced by the Norse cognate *swain*. This word, in its poetic sense of warrior, was an element in personal names [Swan f. Robert, *Fine R.*]. Finally, Henry atte Swan, of St. Osith, keeper of Queenhithe and collector of murage in London (*Pat. R.* 1319), was perhaps the owner of the hostelry which gave its name to Old Swan Pier.

March is local, at the "march," or boundary, besides of course coming specifically from March (Camb.) or La Marche in France [Richard de la Marche, hermit of Charing, *Pat. R.*]. It has also been confused with *Marsh*, which has got the better of the exchanges [John atte Marche *or* Mersshe, *City E.*], and is a variant of the font-name Mark [March Draper, *City A.*, Mark le Draper, *City C.*]. *Hann, Hancock, Hankin, Hanson* are rightly connected by Bardsley with Flemish forms of John. Camden, with equal correctness, says that *Hann* is for *Rann* (Randolph); cf. Hob from Robert, Hick from Richard. But Hanne *or* Henry of Leverpol (*Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33) shows a third, and perhaps chief, origin. The harassed reader will be tempted to conclude that any name can come from anything, nor will he be

far wrong. I was lately asked whether *Dobson* was derived from the French place-name Aubusson. There is no reason why it should not be, if it can be shown that any d'Aubussons ever settled in England. But Robert is a safer etymon.

In the case of a great number of names we observe a simple double origin, without being able to regard either as predominant. Such are *Agate*, " atte gate " or Agatha, Rudge, Fr. *rouge* or dial. *rudge*, a ridge, Wild, " le wild " or " atte wilde," Coy, of Quy (Camb.) [John de Coye,[1] *Pat. R.*, Camb.] or the " coy " [Walter le Coye, *Pat. R.*]. *Agnew* comes from Agneaux (Manche) [John de Aygneaus, *Chart. R.*] and is a nickname, Fr. *agneau* [Richard Agnel, *Pat. R.*]; cf. the common French surnames *Lagneau, Lagnel, Laignel, Laignelet*, etc. *Vale* is local and also from Fr. *veille*, watch, while *Veal* is both OF. *le viel*, the old [Adam le Viel, *Lib. R.*] and *le vel*, the calf [Richard le Vel, *City B.*], and of course *Vale* and *Veal* are themselves now hopelessly mixed up.

The above are simple examples in which the double origin appears on the surface, but there are others less obvious. *Gower* is sometimes from the Glamorgan district so named [William de Goar, *Pleas*], but more often from a personal name Gohier [Goher de Alneto, *Chart. R.*], which comes through Old French from OG. Godehar; it is thus a doublet of the native *Goodier, Goodair*, etc., AS. Godhere. The name has a possible third derivation from a shortened form of OF. *goherier*, a harness maker [Ernald le Goher, *Close R.*]. With *Gower* may be mentioned *Power*, generally the " poor,"

[1] He seems to have been an important person. I find him also as de Quoye and de Queye.

but also from OF. *Pohier*, a Picard [Randulf Puherius, *Pipe R.*, Roger le Poher, *Fine R.*]. *Tyson* is explained by Bardsley as a form of *Dyson*,[1] from Dionysius or Diana, and, when we note the swarms of Tysons who, in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire, confront the innumerable Dysons of the West Riding, there can be no doubt that this is correct. But the first *Tyson* on record was Gilbert Tison (*DB.*), who came over with the Conqueror—

"Gysbright Tysoun fut le primer des Tysouns" (*Percy Cart.*).

His name was no doubt a nickname from Fr. *tison*, a firebrand; cf. our *Carbonnel* and Fr. *Charbonneau*.[2] *Mould, Mold, Moule* are old forms of Maude. Stow mentions Henry Fitzwarin and "Dame Molde his wife," the parents of Lady Richard Whittington. But these names also represent dialect forms of the animal nickname *Mole*—

"Paid the *mould* catcher, £2" (*Nott. Bor. Rec.* 1724).

Bruton is local (Som.) and also for le Breton [John le Brutun, *Hund. R.*]; cf. *Bruttner* (p. 216). *Gibbons*, usually from Gilbert or Gib, comes sometimes from Gobion (*Gubbins*), an Old French name belonging to

[1] The change is common; cf. *Tennyson* and *Denison*, both from Dionysius (Denis). The Welsh Denbigh and Tenby both represent the "Dane bye."

[2] Our *Littlecole* is doubtful. It may be formed like Fr. *Petinicol*. The Normans inherited from their Scandinavian ancestors a love of trivial and crude nicknames, and some of the proudest names in English history are of undignified origin, e.g. *Marmion*, now found also as *Marmon, Marment*, is OF. *marmion*, equivalent to modern *marmot*, monkey, brat. There is another OF. *marmion*, supposed to mean "marmot," but it is of no great antiquity and would not of course be a Norman name.

OG. Godbrecht. This is found as Norman Gubiun [Richard Gubiun *or* Gibiun, *Pleas*] ; cf. *ribbon, ruban.* Similarly *Higgins* belongs perhaps as much to Hugh as to Hick (Richard). *Gainer, Gaynor, Ganner* is occupative (see *Augagneur*, p. 287), and is also a variant form of Guinevere—

> " And Dame *Gaynour*, his quene,
> Was somewhat wanton, I wene "
> (Skelton, *Phyllyp Sparowe*, 636).

Geary, Jeary is short for one of the Anglo-Saxon names in *Gær-*, or from one of the cognate Old French names. As Geri it was the name of one of the paladins. It is occasionally a nickname [John le Gery, *Hund. R.*], from an obsolete adjective meaning uncertain, changeable—

> " Right so kan *geery* Venus overcaste
> The hertes of hir folk ; right as hir day
> Is *gereful*, right so chaungeth she array "
> (Chauc. A. 1535).

Sometimes we find that an extremely rare name has more than one legitimate claimant. The name *Godsave* reached the author from a regimental mess, where the bearer was known as the " national anthem." This interesting name, found also as *Godsiff*, represents the Middle English phrase " o' God's half," properly " on God's behalf," but generally used as a kind of exclamation. In one of the *Chester Plays* Noah says to his wife—

> " Wiffe, come in ! why standes thou their ?
> Thou art ever frowarde, I dare well sweare.
> Come in, *one Godes halfe* ! tyme it were,
> For fear leste that we drowne."

Thomas Agodshalf, whose name is latinized as *de parte*

Dei,[1] married a sister of Becket, Walter a Godeshalf lived in Sussex in the thirteenth century (*Cust. Battle Abbey*), de Godeshalf and Godsalve are found among the Freemen of York, Thomas Godsalve, whose portrait by Holbein can be seen at Dresden, was Registrar of the Consistory Court of Norwich in the sixteenth century, Godsawfe is found in Notts in the seventeenth century, and in fact the name is well attested in various parts of England up to comparatively recent times, and very likely still flourishes in some remote spot. Nothing would seem clearer than that this should be the origin of *Godsave*. But, on the other hand, it may be simply "God save"; cf. the many names of that type given on p. 181, some of which were even used as font-names [Deulesalt[2] f. Jacob, *Pipe R.*] nearly five centuries before the Puritan eccentricities. *Chaucer*, which still exists as *Chauser*, is usually said to come from OF. *chauceor*, a maker of leathern hose, very common in the Rolls, and Baldwin le Chaucer de Cordwanerstrete[3] (*City B.*) seems conclusive. But the modern *Chauser* may equally well represent the ME. *chauffe-cire*, heat wax, a name for a Chancery official [Ellis le Chaufesire, *Pat. R.*]. See *NED.*, s.v. *chaff-wax*, and Ducange, *calefactor ceræ*—

> "*Chaufe-cire*, a chafe-wax, in the Chancerie" (Cotg.).

It could also quite well represent a "chalicer."

Anger is a personal name, Fr. Angier, OG. Ansgar (p. 30) [Ansger solus, *DB.*]. It is also derived from

[1] See Depardeu (p. 181). Probably some of our *Pardews* are simply French versions of *Godsave*.

[2] *Diotisalvi* is an Italian name.

[3] For *cordwainer* see p. 172

Angers, whence also *Ainger*, while it can hardly be excluded from the great class of abstract nicknames (pp. 216–224); cf. Ger. *Zorn*. *Bottle* seems to be a rare name, but, in addition to ME. *botel*, a building, house, it has ancestors in the shape of Anglo-Saxon names in *Bod-* [Botild *or* Botil Hod, *Hund. R.*, Robert Buthewlf,[1] *Chart. R.*]. *Bellasis* is local [Robert de Beleassise, *F. of Y.*], from Bellasis (Northumb.) or Bellasize (Yorks), both of French formation;[2] but there is a font-name Belle-assez, fair enough [Beleassez Iudæa, *Pipe R.*], which is not uncommon in Middle English and would give the same result. With this cf. *Good-enough*, *Goodnow* [William Godynogh, *Pat. R.*], *White-now*, *Oldknow*, Thomas Fairynowe (*Pat. R.*), Richard Langynou (*Fine R.*), and even *Woodnough*, i.e. mad enough (p. 308). *Lew*, already explained (p. 66) as local, is also a variant of *Low*, wolf (p. 310). The full *Leleu* is still found in Devon. *Nothard* may be the "neat-herd" [Nicholas le Noutehird, *F. of Y.*] or the AS. Notheard, valour strong. *Fear* has alternative origins from ME. *fer*, fierce, proud (Fr. *fier*), and *fere*, a companion, as in *Playfair*, and of course has been confused with *Fair*.

Stutfield is authentically derived from Étoutteville (Seine-Inf.), with the regular substitution of *-field* for *-ville* [Helewin de Estuteville, *Fine R.*], but it can also be for "stot-field," from ME. *stot*, a nag, bullock [John de Stotfold, *Chart. R.*]. *Trist* is short for Tristram and alternatively local, at the "tryst" [Peter atte Treste, *Hund. R.*], the earliest meaning of which is connected with hunting. *Cue* is the cook, ME.

[1] Botolph, whence Boston, Botolf's town.
[2] Cf. Belsize, London.

le keu from Old French, but there is a Sc. McCue, for MacHugh, which would inevitably become *Cue* [1] in England. *Suddard* is a dialect form of the local *Southward* and a Scotch form of Fr. *soudard*, a soldier. *Bew* is usually Welsh ap Hugh (*Pugh*), but also a French nickname representing a later form than the more common Bell [Peter le Beus,[2] *Leic. Bor. Rec.*]. *Uzzell* probably represents both AS. Osweald and OF. *oisel* (*oiseau*), whence also *Lazell, Layzell*, Fr. *Loisel*. The antithetic *Fairfoul* might be for "fair fowl," for "fearful," or for "fair field," each derivation being legitimate and easily paralleled, but it may also have its face value, as a nickname applied to a man of contrasts; cf. Roger Fulfayr (*Hund. R.*), who may, however, have been "full fair."

Finally, we have the case of a name of obvious and certain origin which has an unexpected subsidiary source. Some striking examples were given at the beginning of the chapter. *Hull* and *Pool* are evidently local, the former being a variant of "hill"—

> "On a May morwenyng on Malverne *hulles*"
> (*Piers Plowm.* C. i. 6).

But *Hull* was a common font-name in Lancashire [Adam f. Hul, *Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33, Hull f. Robert, *ib.*], whence *Fitzhull*. No doubt it is for *Hulbert*, an Old French name cognate with AS. Holdbeorht, gracious bright. *Pool* is a common Anglo-French spelling of Paul, whence also *Poll, Pollett*, sometimes *Powell* and generally *Powles*. *Arundell, Arndell, Arran-*

[1] This is a common phenomenon, the aphetic name usually keeping the final *-c* of *Mac*, e.g. *Cawley, Callister, Clish*, etc. So also we find *Carty* for the Irish Macarthy, while *Casement* is for Mac-Esmond.

[2] This *-s* is the OF. nominative.

dale are obviously from Arundell (Suss.), but Osbert Arundel[1] (*Rievaulx Cart.* c. 1140) was named from OF. *arondel*, a swallow. *Beaver, Beevor*, etc., show the usual pronunciation of Belvoir (Leic.) and have no connection with an animal which was extinct in England long before the surname period. But John le Bevere[2] (*Fine R.*), like Geoffrey le Buver (*Close R.*), was a thirsty soul, though not necessarily to be classed with William Aydrunken (*Northumb. Ass. R.* 1256–79). *Bourne* is generally local, from Fr. *borne*, a boundary, no doubt often confused with *burn*. It is also a nickname, the one-eyed[3] [Walter le Borne, *Pipe R.*, Peter Monoculus, *Exch. R.*], still common in France as *Leborgne*.

Other examples of reinforced local names are *Tower*, sometimes the "tawer," leather dresser [Gilbert le Tower, *Hund. R.*], and *Myer*,[4] OF. *mire*, the physician—

> "Je sui malade a mort, si requier vostre aïe,
> Que *myere* ne me puet aidier par sa clergie"
> (OF. poem, 14th cent.).

Buxton is occasionally a personal name [Ailric Bucstan, *Pipe R.*], of the same type as Wulfstan. *Venn*, usually for the local *Fenn* [Nicholas Dibbe of la Venne, *IpM.*,

[1] It is exceptional to find bird nicknames preceded by the article.

[2] The vowel change is regular; cf. *beef, people, retrieve*, etc. Or rather, in this case, we have kept the original vowel, the French *u* being due to lalialization.

[3] The earliest meaning was probably "squinting." Hence *Leborgne* may be rather Strabo than Cocles.

[4] *Myer, Myers* is generally local, at the "mire," and in modern times often stands for Ger. *Meyer*. OF. *mire*, a doctor, perhaps became a popular nickname in connection with the quack doctor of the medieval drama. It is a very common entry (*mire, meir, meyre*), and has evidently been confused with *Mair, Mayor*. In fact it is likely that many of the latter spring from *mire*. It is hardly necessary to say that the local *Mears* (p. 68) is also implicated.

Som.] is also baptismal, probably for Vincent [William f. Venne, *Lanc. Inq.* 1310–33]. *Over* is ME. *overe*, bank, sea-shore, whence several English place-names. In Middle English it seems to be used chiefly as a rime for Dover. The surname *Over*, whence also *Owers*, is also occupative, from OF. *ovier*, an egg-merchant [Thurstan le Over *or* Ovarius *or* Owarius, *Leic. Bor. Rec.*].

The above are examples of local surnames which have other subsidiary origins. Baptismal surnames have been similarly reinforced from other sources. Even the simple *Adam* is sometimes local, "atte dam"; cf. *Agate*, *Adeane*, etc. *Willis* has encroached on *Willows* [Andrew in le Wylies, *Percy Cart.*]. I have already suggested (p. 232) that *Hugh* may sometimes represent AS. *hiwa*, a servant. It is also, like *Hogg*, a variant of the local *Hough* [William del Hughe, *F. of Y.*]. In fact *Hugh*, *Hough*, *How*, *Hogg* are so mixed up that a small chapter would be required to elucidate their history. *Hitch*, usually for Richard, is occasionally local [Richard Attehiche, *Hund. R.*], probably a variant of "hatch" or "hutch." The derivative *Hitcheon*, from Fr. *Huchon* (Hutchin), dim. of Hugh, suggests that the *Hitch-* group, like the *Hig-* group, belongs to Hugh as well as Richard. *Bellis*, having its home in North Wales, is clearly ab Ellis, but it is also a variant of *Bellhouse* (see p. 96). *Bryan* and *Bryanson* are both occasionally local, from Brienne, a common French place-name [Guy de Briane, *Fine R.*], and Briançon [Bartholomew de Brianzun, *ib.*]. *Neale*, which represents the font-name Nigel and also the Norse Niel, i.e. Nicholas, is sometimes derived from Nesle (Somme). The merchants of Amyas (Amiens), Neal and

Corby, all now in the department of Somme, are often mentioned in City records and appear to have enjoyed special privileges. It is only natural that each town should have given an English surname. *Catlin*, whence also *Gatling*, is usually from Catherine [William Cateline *or* Katelyn, *Fine R.*], and may even be a dim. of the Norse *Kettle* [Ketelinus le Fevre, *Coram Rege R.* 1297], but it also records stray Catalans, i.e. incomers from Catalonia [Arnold Catellan, *Pat. R.*, John de Cateloyne *or* Catelyne, *ib.*]. *Everett*, besides representing Everard, AS. Eoforheard, almost certainly means "boar head," cf. *Bullett* and the other examples on p. 128.

Here it may be noted that personal names in *-ett, -itt* are not always to be regarded as dims. In *Tamsett* we have merely the French dim. ending *-et* (Thomas-et), but in *Hewett, Howitt, Willett*, and many other names the ending may be the usual reduction of *-ard*, so that they would be from *Heward, Howard*,[1] *Willard*, rather than from the Hugh and Will which represent a first syllable shared by these names with other Anglo-Saxon names.

An occupative name may also conceal one of the other classes. *Meller*, usually the "miller"[2]—

> "Monde the *mulnere*, var. *mellere*, and moni mo"
> (*Piers Plowm.* A. ii. 80)—

[1] *Howard* has several origins, but the identity, as personal names, of the shortened *How* and *Hew* suggests that its chief origin is Fr. *Huard*, OG. Hugihart. Searle has neither Hygeheard nor Hygeweard, but such names must have existed.

[2] It is interesting to note that, according to the *NED.*, *miller, meller, milner, mulliner*, are not found before the fourteenth century. They are all, however, common as thirteenth-century surnames. The Anglo-Saxon term was *mylenweard* (*Millward, Millard*), really the official in charge of the lord's mill. In the *Pat. R.* occurs William le Wyndmylneward.

is also the "better" [John le Meillur, *Chart. R.*]; cf. Fr. *Meilleur*, Ger. *Besser*, and our own *Better* [John le Bettre, *Pat. R.*]. *Biddle, Bittle* is not only for AS. *bydel*, the beadle, but, its home being Gloucestershire, represents Welsh ab Ithel (whence *Bethell, Bithell*, etc.), the simplex being found in Wiltshire as *Iddols*. *Ryder* is obviously occupative, but the home of the name is North Wales, a country singularly unsuited for cavalry. Hence it must often be from a Welsh personal name [Mereduc f. Reder, *Pat. R.*]. *Mawer*, a "mower" [Thomas le Mawere, *Pat. R.*], is in East Anglia a variant of the dial. *mawther*, a girl, in fact this is probably the usual origin of the name, which belongs chiefly to Lincolnshire.

"The old *Mawther* biled 'em, she did. Mrs. Gummidge biled 'em" (*David Copperfield*, ch. vii.).

Very common names such as *Carter, Cooper, Tucker* easily swallow up uncommon names which have ceased to be understood. In *Carter* is almost lost *Charter*, which itself may have various origins, including that of Carthusian monk [Philip le Chartrar *or* le Carter *or* de Chartraas,[1] *Salisb. Cart.*]. *Cooper, Couper, Cowper* includes not only "cupper," but also Du. *kooper*, a merchant, lit. buyer, which we still have in *horse-coper*; and the not uncommon Toutcœur, all heart [Geoffrey Tutquor, *Royal Let.* Hen. III. 1216–35, William Tutquere, *F. of Y.*] has been lost in *Tucker*.

Even the obvious nickname has often a secondary source. I will take three examples only. *Bird* is from ME. *brid*, properly a young bird,[2] and used later

[1] Fr. Chartreuse, Eng. Charterhouse.

[2] For bird in general *fowl* was used, as in the Bible.

of the young of other animals and even of children. In the fourteenth century it is used for maiden, by confusion with ME. *burde, berde,* and possibly also with *bride,* so that these words must also be considered in tracing the pedigree of the *Birds*—

> " Thir breeks o' mine, my only pair,
> That ance were plush, o' guid blue hair,
> I wad hae gien them off my hurdies
> For ae blink o' the bonie *burdies* ! "
> (*Tam o'Shanter*).

Ruddick, found also as *Rodick, Riddick, Reddick,* etc., is an Anglo-Saxon dim. of the name *Rudd,* i.e. red, and in dialect is a name for the robin—

> " The tame *ruddok* and the coward kyte "
> (Chauc. *Parl. of Foules,* 349).

But Robert del Rowdick (*Leic. Bor. Rec.*), whose name is clearly local, may have been the ancestor of some of the *Ruddicks. Cox* is one of our commonest surnames and represents *Cocks,* the simple *Cock* being of at least four origins, none of which will very well account for David atte Kokes (*Hund. R.,* Norf.) and John del Cogges (*Chesh. Chamb. Accts.*). Apparently these names refer to the boat called a " cog " or " cock." For similar names see p. 171. The use of the plural is unusual, but cf. *Hoyes,* a common Lincolnshire surname, and *Bates,* sometimes an archaic northern form of " boat " [Adam del Bate, *IpM.*].

I had intended to have included in this volume a chapter on imitative name-forms, of which examples are to be found on almost every page of the book. But the subject is so vague and endless and so unsuited for methodical treatment that I will only mention a

few characteristic instances. The natural tendency is to strive at giving meaning to the unintelligible and, among a number of accidental variants, to prefer that which suggests something significant, however remote this may be from the real sense of the name. But the reader whose patience has held out so far will have come to see that surnames are often of such bizarre and unexpected origin, that one must exercise great caution in arbitrarily describing the unusual as imitative. Bardsley regards *Tortoiseshell* as an imitative form of the local Tattershall. The habitat of the name (Staffordshire) does not favour this, and there is no reason why it should not be a nickname, probably of costume, just as we have tortoiseshell cats and butterflies. The tortoise was well known to our ancestors, and has given the existing names *Tortiss*, *Tortise*, the latter occurring in Norfolk, where the *Promptorium Parvulorum* was compiled—

"*Tortuce*, a beeste, *tortuta*" (*Prompt. Parv.*).

Beetle may be an alteration of *Beadle*, but we have a number of well-authenticated insect nicknames, e.g. *Ampt*, *Emmett*,[1] *Furmy*, all meaning ant, *Bee*, *Coachafer*, *Flay* or *Fly*, *Hornett*, *Wasp*, etc., and Robert Scarbode (*IpM.*) certifies *Beetle* as a nickname—

"*Escarbot*, the blacke flie called, a *beetle*" (Cotg.).

There are, of course, some cases in which we may legitimately infer imitative origin even without documentary evidence. When, in the roll of a regiment largely composed of Irishmen, we find *Kingseller*, *Flirty* and *Caverner*, we need not hesitate to recognize

[1] Usually a dim. of Emma.

the fine old Irish names Kinsella, Flaherty and Kavanagh. *Coldbreath*, *Cowhorn* and *Laughland* may be similarly accepted as for the Scottish Galbraith, Colquhoun and Lachlan, while *Cossack* is the Irish Cusack. The Welsh Rhys, Rees is very common in England as *Rice* and occasionally as *Race*. Stow tells us that in 1531 Sir Rice Grifith was beheaded on Tower Hill, and I have come across Race Alisaundre in a monastery cartulary near the Welsh Border. Another origin of *Race* is Fr. *ras* [John le Ras, *Hund. R.*].

" *Ras*, shaven, cleane shaven " (Cotg.).

Straight [1] is perhaps merely a variant of Street [Ralph del Strate *or* atte Strete, *Close R.*].

Sometimes a name, without being imitative, suggests something quite remote from its meaning. *Lugger* is AS. Hlothgar, famous spear. It cannot be of the same origin as *Galley*, *Barge*, etc. (p. 171), for, according to all nautical authorities, the name of the craft dates from the eighteenth century. *Pinion* is one of the many names from Welsh ap Eynon; cf. *Binyon*, *Bennion*, etc. *Pamphlett* is a dim. of the name Pamphile [John Panfelot, *Pat. R.*]. Cf. the derivation of the common noun *pamphlet*, from Pamphilet, "a familiar name of the twelfth-century amatory poem or comedy called *Pamphilus, seu de amore*, a highly popular opuscule in the thirteenth century" (*NED.*). With the Eastern-looking *Durbar*, *Doorbar*, AS. Thurbeorht, cf. *Sirdar* (p. 120). In *Icemonger* is preserved AS. *isen*, iron.

The locality in which an imitative name is found often furnishes a clue to its origin. Examples are *Blackcow*, of Blackhall (Lanc.), and *Muse*, a York-

[1] The *-g-* of *straight*, for *strait*, OF. *estreit* (*étroit*), is not original.

shire name, of Meaux in that county. So also *Doubt, Doubting* are found in Somerset with *Dowd, Dowding*, these probably from David. In Bucks *Coughtrey* is found side by side with *Cowdery* (p. 306), while in Lincolnshire *Cushion* occurs as a variant of *Cushing*. Names that have wandered far from their homes can often be traced back thither through a series of forms. To those mentioned on p. 88 may be added *Counterpatch*, a London version of Comberbach (Chesh.), of which *Cumberpatch* is an intermediate form, *Kingrose* for Kinross, and *Roseworm* for the much prettier Cornish Rosewarne.

Names of baptismal origin get perverted if unfamiliar. Williams does not change, but *Paton*, no longer recognized as a dim. of Patrick, is altered to *Patten, Pattern, Patent*. Any form, whatever absurdity it suggests, is preferred to the unintelligible. Thus *Mahood*, from Maheut, the Old French form of Matilda, sometimes becomes *Mawhood*, and *Dawtrey*, i.e. de Hauterive, is spelt *Daughtery*. *Liptrapp* is a perversion of *Liptrott*, an early German immigrant, Liebetraut, "Dearlove," probably a Huguenot name. *Loyal* and *Royal* are doubtful. Though quite possible nicknames, they are perhaps rather for *Lyle, Ryle* or *Lyall, Ryall*. The first two are local and the second two baptismal, though they have of course been confused. *Lyall* is for Lyulph, representing an Old Danish Lithwulf [Liolf f. Liolf, *Fine R.*], and *Ryall* is for Riulf [Henry f. Riolf, *Lib. R.*], AS. Ricwulf.

One result of imitative spelling is that we find many names suggesting adverbs, conjunctions and interjections, or even parts of verbs. These are generally pretty simple, e.g. *While* is for *Wile* (see p. 83),

Whence is at the "wence," i.e. the cross-roads. This is simply the plural of *went*, a way [John del Wente, *Pat. R.*]. *Where* is for Ware (p. 311) and the second element of *Whereat* is *yate*, a gate (see p. 91). In connection with these names it may be noted that initial *Wh-* is often artificial, e.g. *Whatkins*, *Whisker* (p. 137), *Whybird*, AS. Wigbeorht, etc. *Heigho* is for *Hayhoe*, at the "high hoe." *Would* is of course for Wood; cf. *Wouldhave* (p. 59). *Goe*, very common in Lincolnshire, where it is neighboured by *Goy*, is local, from one of many places in France called Gouy [Hugh de Goe *or* de Goy, *Close R.*].

Most collectors of odd surnames have been attracted by the great class of names in *-ing*. A curious little book [1] now before me has a list of 150 such names, and this list could easily be doubled. It is probable that hardly any [2] of these names are really present participles. We might nickname a man "Dancing Jimmy," but, for surname purposes, he would become "Jimmy the Dancer." A great many of these *-ing* names are Anglo-Saxon patronymics, e.g. *Billing*, *Golding*, etc., and some may be formed from local names and mean inhabitant. In the *Abingdon Cartulary* are mentioned the Beorhtfeldingas, Lamburningas, Winterburningas, Cnottingas, Horningas, who inhabited the "bright field," "lang burn," etc.; but it is uncertain how far this formation survived into the surname period. Perhaps the majority of these names are due to the vulgar tendency to add final *-g* after *-n*, as in "kitching." Here belong *Panting*, *Painting*, for

[1] C. L. Lordan, *Of Certain English Surnames and their Occasional Odd Phases when seen in Groups* (London and Romsey, n.d.).

[2] But see *Leeming* (p. 89, *n.* 2).

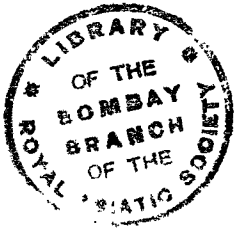
Pantin, Panton, a dim. of Pantolf[1] [William Pauntolf, *Lib R.*, William Paunton, *ib.*]. *Going* is the French name *Gouin* [John Gowyn, *Pat. R.*], *Howling* is a double dim. of How or Hugh; cf. Fr. *Huelin, Hulin. Wearing* and *Warring* are for Warin, a common Old French name (Guérin) which usually gives *Warren. Dusting* is a form of Thurstan [William Dusteyn, *IpM.*] and is also found in the shortened form *Dust. Fearing* is for *Fearon,* OF. *feron,* a smith, and *Basting* is a perversion of *Bastin,* i.e. Sebastian. And so *ad infinitum.* It is possible that in a few cases the origin of an *-ing* name may be an abstract noun; see *Deeming* (p. 222); while many of them are local compounds of *ing,* a meadow (p. 64).

But we have a few surnames derived from French present participles used as nicknames. Such are *Currant* [Beatrice Corant, *Ramsey Cart.*], *Mordaunt* [Robert le Mordaunt, *Hund. R.*], *Morant* or *Murrant* [John le Moraunt, *Coram Rege R.* 1297, Amicia le Murant, *Close R.*]. The latter name is more likely aphetic for OF. *demorant* (*demeurant*) than for *mourant.* Cf. Hugh le Demurant (*Pipe R.*), Johanna la Manaunte (*Testa de Nev.*), Alexander Sujournant (*Glouc. Cart.*). These examples seem to show that *Remnant,* like the common noun *remnant,* represents the Old French present participle *remanant.* Many more names of this type occur in the Rolls, e.g. Penaunt, Poygnaunt, Saillaunt, Trenchaunt, Taylant, Erraunt, etc., and probably some of these are still in existence.

The examples in this chapter are taken almost at

[1] Of Old French introduction, from OG. Bandwolf, banner wolf, which does not appear to be found in Anglo-Saxon. It is fairly common in the Rolls.

random and most pages of the *London Directory* would yield similar results. The reader will, I think, conclude that a real Dictionary of English Surnames would be rather a big book, and that compilations which dispense with evidence are not to be taken seriously.



INDEX

This index contains, with a very few doubtful cases, only names which were in existence as late as the nineteenth century. Foreign names are printed in italics. It will be sometimes found that more than one origin is indicated for the same name.

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